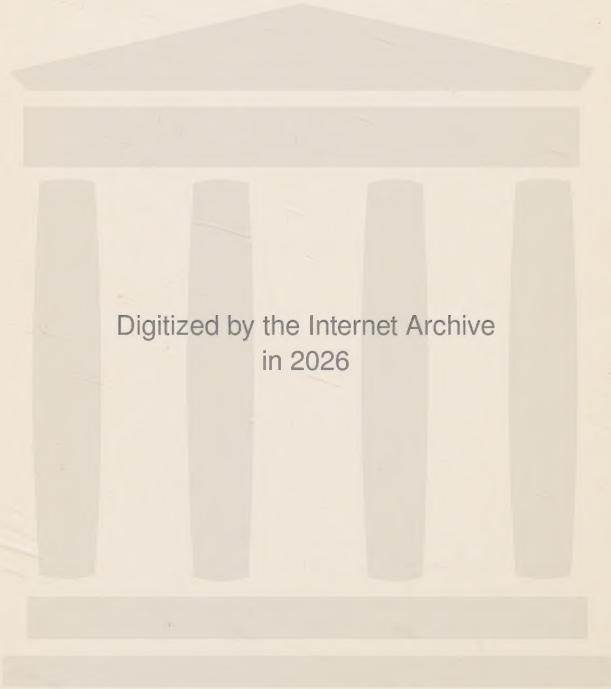
Helen Quinn

Bertha Karlsberg


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/introductiontohi0000arth_s0n5

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

GERMANIC SERIES

No. II

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF NEW HIGH GERMAN

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKechnie, M.A., Secretary),
23 Lime Grove, Oxford Road, MANCHESTER
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
London : 39 Paternoster Row, E.C.4
New York : 55 Fifth Avenue
Toronto : 210 Victoria Street
Bombay : 336 Hornby Road
Calcutta : 6 Old Court House Street
Madras : 167 Mount Road

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF NEW HIGH GERMAN

BY

ARTHUR KIRK, B.A.

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND ASSISTANT LECTURER IN GERMAN, MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY

MANCHESTER: AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, NEW YORK, ETC., LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
1923

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
No. CLXI

MADE IN ENGLAND
All rights reserved

PREFACE

In compiling this small volume to fill a gap in text-book literature, I have endeavoured on the one hand, in Chapters I.-III. to supply a general introduction such as the student of larger works is assumed to possess, and on the other hand, in Chapters IV.-VIII., to treat special and specialist subject-matter more systematically and methodically than is customary in the few introductory books existing. My hope is that these latter four chapters, though concise, will lay a foundation for the beginner on which he will be able, without re-arranging, to build, when he passes on to greater details in larger works.

In transcription from other languages I have in most respects followed Brugmann; in the phonetical transcript the symbols are those of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*, with the exception of the ɡ to correspond with ɓ and ɗ, a desirable innovation in my opinion. For clearness' sake I have endeavoured to give consistently all examples in italics; meanings, where necessary, in ordinary type in round brackets; and phonetic transcript in ordinary type in square brackets.

My obligations, some acknowledged in the notes, are many; but of three I must make special mention. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for the arrangement adopted in Chapters IV. and V. to Professor Wright, *Historical German Grammar*, and in Chapter III. to Professor Johannson, *Phonetics of the New High German Language*; in both of which cases I

followed their plan for the double reason that intrinsically it was good, and that the student will probably pass on from this little volume to theirs. And to Dr. Schulz, *Abriß der deutschen Grammatik*, I owe much in several paragraphs of Chapter II.

I would take this opportunity, too, of thanking Professor Johannson for his advice and help throughout the book; and to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, of the Manchester University Press, my thanks are due for the trouble he has taken in endeavouring to meet my wishes in regard to the special symbols.

A. K.

GATLEY, CHESHIRE,
October 1923.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Introduction—The Indo-Germanic Languages	1
II.	From Indo-Germanic to New High German: A General Survey	13
III.	On Phonetics	24
IV.	The History of the Consonants	33
V.	The History of the Sonants	41
VI.	The Noun	52
VII.	The Verb	59
VIII.	The Adjective. The Pronoun. The Adverb	70
IX.	Conclusion	78

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION—THE INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Abbreviations

Dan. = Danish	NE. = New English
Du. = Dutch	NHG. = New High German
E. = English (NE)	O.Bactr. = Old Bactrian
Fr. = French	OE. = Old English
G. = German (NHG)	OHG. = Old High German
Gmc. = Germanic	O.Ir. = Old Irish
Goth. = Gothic	O.Lat. = Old Latin
Gk. = Greek	O.N. = Old Norse
HG. = High German	O.S. = Old Saxon
Icel. = Icelandic	Pers. = Persian
Idg. = Indo-Germanic	Russ. = Russian
Ir. = Irish	Skr. = Sanskrit
Lat. = Latin	Swed. = Swedish
Lith. = Lithuanian	Wel. = Welsh
ME. = Middle English	> = becomes
MHG. = Middle High German	< = comes from

See also the Preface.

§ 1. Grammar, particularly historical grammar, is usually looked upon as the dry-as-dust study *par excellence*. Philology, now practically accepted in England as synonymous in meaning with the study of historical grammar—as contrasted with the continental use of the term with its wider significance of language, literature, and *realia*—might not be regarded so askance under another and more explanatory title. The term "science of language" gives a hint at any rate that philology opens up one side of life in evolution as interestingly and effectively as other

sciences, that it too is a part, one page of history. Of course, sound laws and language laws have not the abiding general significance of natural laws. The student of language history must never forget that his laws have their chronological and geographical limit, that they operate only for a limited period in the history of a language or a dialect, and are quoted as acting only within the one language or dialect territory under observation.[1]

§ 2. It stands to reason that the older the forms of words occurring in allied languages, the greater will the similarity be ;[2] but a mere glance at some of the commoner words in most of the modern European languages, as well as the forms in which they occur in classical Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, will give rise to the thought that the similarity is more than a coincidence.

Take the nearer relationships—*father*, *mother*, *brother*, *sister* :

NE. *Father*, Du. *vader*, Dan. *fader*, Swed. *fader*, Icel. *faðir*, G. *Vater*, Goth. *fadar*, Lat. *pater*,[3] Gk. πατήρ, O.Bactr. *pitā*, Skr. *pitár-*, O.Ir. *athir*.

NE. *Mother*, Du. *moeder*, Dan. *moder*, Swed. *moder*, Icel. *mōðir*, G. *Mutter*, O.Ir. *māthir*, Russ. *matь*, Lith. *motė*, Lat. *māter* (Fr. *mère*), Gk. μήτηρ, O.Bactr. *mātā*, Skr. *mātar-*.

NE. *Brother*, Du. *broeder*, Dan. *broder*, Swed. *broder*, Icel. *brōðir*, G. *Bruder*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Ir. *brāthir*, Wel. *brawd*, Russ. *brat*, Lat. *frāter* (Fr. *frère*), Gk. φρατήρ, Skr. *bhrā́tar-*.

NE. *Sister*, Du. *zuster*, Dan. *søster*, Swed. *syster*, Icel. *systir*, G. *Schwester*, Goth. *swistar*, O.Ir. *siur*, Wel. *chwaer*, Russ. *sestra*, Lith. *sesů*, Lat. *soror* (Fr. *sœur*), Skr. *svásar-*.

Take some of the numerals—*one*, *two*, *three*, *six* :

NE. *One*, Du. *een*, Dan. *een*, Swed. *en*, Icel. *einn*, G. *ein*, Goth. *ains*, O.Ir. *óen*, Wel. *un*, O.Lat. *oinos*, Lat. *ūnus* (Fr. *un*), Gk. **οἰνός* in *οἴνη* (*f.*) an ace on a die.

[1] The student must be warned at the outset against endeavouring to base ethnological results on philological grounds. Linguistic relationship is of itself no proof of racial relationship.

[2] See note 1, p. 8.

[3] It is unnecessary to quote here each time the modern descendants of Latin in the Romance languages : Fr. *père*, Italian *padre*, Spanish *padre*, etc.

NE. *Two*, Du. *twee*, Dan. *to*, Swed. *två*, Icel. *tveir*, G. *zwei*, Goth. *twai*, O.Ir. *dá*, Wel. *dau*, Russ. *dva*, Lith. *dù*, Lat. *duo* (Fr. *deux*, E. *deuce*), Gk. *δύο*, Skr. *dvá*.

NE. *Three*, Du. *drie*, Dan. *tre*, Swed. *tre*, Icel. *þrīr*, G. *drei*, Goth. *þreis*, O.Ir. *trí*, Wel. *tri*, Russ. *tri*, Lith. *trỹs*, Lat. *trēs* (Fr. *trois*), Gk. *τρεῖς*, Skr. *tráyas*.

NE. *Six*, Du. *zes*, Dan. *sex*, Swed. *sex*, Icel. *sex*, G. *sechs*, Goth. *saihs*, O.Ir. *sé*, Wel. *chwech*, Russ. *shestь*, Lith. *szeszì*, Lat. *sex* (Fr. *six*), Gk. *ἕξ*, O.Bactr. *χšvaš*, Skr. *šaš*.

With regard to *four* and *five*, the similarity between the forms in the Germanic languages is recognizable enough at a mere glance, but the forms in which they occur in Celtic, Slavonic, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, require the aid of comparative grammar to demonstrate the alliance:

NE. *Four*,[1] Du. *vier*, Dan. *fire*, Swed. *fyra*, Icel. *fjōrir*, G. *vier*, Goth. *fidwōr*, O.Ir. *cethir*, Wel. *pedwar*, Russ. *četyre*, Lith. *keturì*, Lat. *quatuor* (Fr. *quatre*), Gk. *τέσσαρες*, Skr. *catvāras*.

NE. *Five*,[1] Du. *vijf*., Dan. *fem*, Swed. *fem*, Icel. *fimm*, G. *fünf*, Goth. *fimf*, O.Ir. *cóic*, Wel. *pump*, Lith. *penkì*, Lat. *quinque* (Fr. *cinq*), Gk. *πέντε*, Skr. *páñca*.

The words quoted above (except the non-Germanic forms of *four* and *five*) may be said to possess an obvious similarity. "Obvious" similarities must, however, never be taken as proof by the etymologist; they must be substantiated by comparative grammar. Many earlier etymologies, based on "obvious" assumptions, will not hold; for example, Latin *deus* is not allied with Greek *θεός*, nor English *care* with Latin *cūra*, nor *charity* with Greek *χάρις*. On the other hand, modern philology can now show the relation between such words as the various forms of *four* and *five* above, between such apparently dissimilar words as Eng. *tear* and Fr. *larme*,[2] as Eng. *cow* and *beef*,[3] as Eng. *come* and Fr. *venir*.[4]

§ 3. High German, the language usually meant when we

[1] See also note 1, p. 33. [2] See note 1, p. 35.

[3] NE. *cow*, Du. *koe*, Dan. *ko*, Swed. *ko*, Icel. *kȳr*, G. *kuh*, Ir. *bō*, Wel. *buw*, Lat. *bōs* (acc. *bovem*, Fr. *bœuf*, E. *beef*), Gk. *βοῦς*, O.Bactr. and Skr. *gāuš*, Old Bulgarian *govędo*.

[4] From an Indo-Germanic root *gm* arises **gum̥io*, Gk. *βαίνω*, Lat. *venio* (Fr. *venir*), Germanic **qëman* > OHG. *quëman* (*cf.* *bequem* in NHG.), OE. *cuman*, NE. *come*.

speak of German, is a member of one division of one of the branches of the Indo-Germanic[1] family of languages. There are, of course, no extant records of the original mother tongue, nor of primitive Germanic,[2] from which the various Germanic languages are derived. Their existence is inferred from their descendants, and words in them, built up synthetically by comparative grammar, are, when quoted, always marked with an asterisk, e.g. **kṃtóm*. Such hypothetical forms can be conveniently referred to orally as asterisk forms. The following nine main branches developed out of original Indo-Germanic:

I. Indo-Iranian.
II. Armenian.
III. Albanian.
IV. Balto-Slavonic.
V. Tocharic.
VI. Greek.
VII. Italic.
VIII. Celtic.
IX. Germanic.[3]

The first four of these are often referred to as *satəm*

[1] Various names have at different times been used to denote this family of languages. Indo-Germanic was adopted before it was realized that Celtic was also a member of the family and then Indo-Celtic was adopted by some philologists, but this has gained no great currency. Aryan has often been used but is better avoided since it is sometimes used in the sense of the whole Indo-Germanic family and sometimes merely to denote the Indo-Iranian group, whence strictly the name is taken. Care must therefore be taken to note exactly in what sense that term when met with is used. Indo-European is also fairly frequently used, but Indo-Germanic would seem, for current use, to be the simplest and most natural term, parallel to the German *indogermanisch*.

[2] Germanic is sometimes called Teutonic, and these two terms must not be treated, as is so often done popularly, as the adjectives corresponding to the noun German. The adjective to the noun German is German. Germanic is the adjective to the Germani, Die Germanen, the Teutons, *i.e.* the tribe or tribes from whose mother tongue the Germanic languages are descended.

[3] Apart, therefore, from the branches in Asia the Indo-Germanic family includes all the extant languages of Europe except:

1. Turkish, belonging to the Altaic family.

2. (*a*) Hungarian (Magyar), belonging to the Ugrian branch of the Finnish-Ugrian family; (*b*) Finnish, together with the languages of the Lapps, the Esths (in Esthonia and Livonia), and the Livs (from

languages and the last five as *centum* languages owing to the different treatment by the two groups of the *k* sounds, a difference which would almost seem to imply that there was a division into two dialect groups within Indo-Germanic itself. In the *satəm* group *k* becomes *s* or *š* or a sound arising therefrom; the *centum* group retains the sound as a *k* or develops it as a *k*. The Idg. word **ḱm̥tóm*, meaning hundred, becomes in

Old Indian *śatám.*	Tocharic *känt.*
Old Bactrian *satəm.*	Greek ἑκατόν.
Armenian.[1]	Latin *centum* (c = k sound).
Albanian.[1]	Old Irish *cēt* (c = k sound).
Lithuanian *szimtas.*	Gothic *hund* (Idg. k > h in Germanic).
Old Bulgarian.[1]	English *hund-red.*
Russian.[1]	

To visualize the above branches in their approximate geographical positions assists too in an understanding of those which have closer resemblances and more special affinities. Roughly, they would stand on a map of Europe and that part of Asia over which they extend, as follows:

Germanic		Balto-Slavonic		
Celtic				Tocharic
Italic	Albanian	Greek	Armenian	Iranian-Indian

Livonia, though the few remaining descendants are to be found in Courland) belonging to the Finnish branch of the above-named family.

3. Basque. Origin and relationships unknown.

Mention may be made here too of two languages no longer extant:

1. Etruscan. In spite of numerous inscriptions in Italy, still unidentified.

2. Minoan. The language of pre-Indo-Germanic Crete (as recorded in the still undeciphered clay tablets of the Cnossus palace archives) when Crete was the centre of the so-called Minoan civilization (3000 B.C.–1400 B.C.).

[1] The Armenian word for a hundred, *hariwr*, is of unknown origin; the Albanian *qint*, is only a loan-word from Lat. *centum*; and the Slavonic form (Old Bulgarian *sŭto*, Russ. *sto*) is also probably only a loan-word from some south-eastern Indo-Germanic language, not an original Slavonic word. These forms cannot therefore be quoted above; but a word which shows the change for these three branches is the Idg. stem **ak-* (sharp) in Skr. *áśriš*, Armenian *aseln* (needle), Albanian *áθετε* (harsh), Lith. *asztrùs*, O. Bulgarian *ostrŭ*, Gk. ἄκρος, Lat. *acus*, OHG. *ahil* > NHG. *Achel*, also OHG. ehir > NHG. Ähre and OHG. āhorn > NHG. Ahorn.

With the present geographical distribution in mind—it is much the same to-day, roughly speaking, as it was originally—it is easy to understand the resemblances and affinities between Celtic and Latin, between Celtic and Germanic, between Germanic and Slavonic, between Slavonic and the Asiatic group.

§ 4. The main branches are subdivided as follows. The philologist, from the point of view of time also, refers to the Old, Middle, and New periods of most of these languages. This time division is made for practical purposes; the development of language is of course continuous, rapid or slow, as the case may be.

I. Indo-Iranian.

i. Indian (Vedic and Sanskrit. Prākrit dialects. Modern Indian dialects).

ii. Iranian.

(*a*) Old Persian; (*b*) Old Bactrian or Avesta language.[1]

The Indian group in its old period includes the language of the Vedas, with the Ṛgveda, dating from at least 2500 B.C., and classical Sanskrit. Middle Indian, commonly called the Prākrit dialects, is descended from old Vedic and the chief of them is Pāli, the sacred language of the Buddhists. From these are descended the modern Indian dialects Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāthī, Hindī, Bihārī, and Bengālī.

The Iranian[2] group is divided into West and East Iranian. West Iranian is usually termed Old Persian and from it is derived Middle Persian or Pahlavi and thence with a strong admixture of Arabic are descended the New Persian dialects. Old Persian is the language of the cuneiform inscriptions, the oldest dating from the first part of the sixth century B.C. East Iranian is the language of the Avesta, the sacred books of the Zoroastrians, the oldest dating from *c.* 1000 B.C.

[1] Often wrongly termed Zend (from Zend-Avesta), Zend meaning merely translation.

[2] Iran (from Aryāna, the country of the Aryans) is to-day the name of the great plateau stretching W.E. from the Tigris to the Indus and N.S. from the Caspian Sea and the Turanian desert to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; it has been, and is, however, often used for Persia alone, although strictly the name of Iran should have been limited to the S.E. portion of the plateau, excluding Persia.

II. Armenian.

The oldest monuments date back to the fifth century A.D.

III. Albanian.

The oldest monuments go back only to the seventeenth century A.D.

IV. Balto-Slavonic.

i. Baltic.

(*a*) Old Prussian; (*b*) Lithuanian; (*c*) Lettic.

ii. Slavonic.

(*a*) Russian (Great, White, and Little); (*b*) Bulgarian; (*c*) Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian; (*d*) Czech or Bohemian; (*e*) Sorabian (or Wendish, spoken in Lusatia); (*f*) Polish; (*g*) Polabian (the extinct language of the Slavs on the lower Elbe).

Old Prussian, once the language of West and East Prussia, became extinct in the seventeenth century, supplanted by German.

Lithuanian and Lettic are still spoken in the lower Baltic districts between Germany and Russia; the oldest records date from the sixteenth century.

Slavonic is divided into an east-south group, including *a*, *b*, *c*, and a western group including *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*; the oldest record is a Bible translation of the ninth century in Old Bulgarian or Old Church Slavonic.

V. Tocharic.

No longer extant; discovered only in 1908 in East Turkestan, along with the so-called "North Aryan" (a Middle Iranian dialect).

VI. Greek, with the following main divisions:

(*a*) Ionic-Attic; (*b*) The Doric group; (*c*) The North-eastern or Aeolic group; (*d*) The North-western group (Epirus, Locris, Aetolia, Elis, etc.); (*e*) Arcadian-Cyprian.

The earliest inscriptions date from the seventh century B.C.; Homer's epics date, though not in the form in which we know them, back to *c.* the ninth century B.C.

VII. Italic, with the more important divisions:

i. Oscan.

ii. Umbrian.

iii. Latin, with its descendants, the Romance languages :
(*a*) Italian ; (*b*) Spanish ; (*c*) Portuguese ; (*d*) Catalanian ; (*e*) French ; (*f*) Provençal ; (*g*) Raeto-Romanic ; (*h*) Roumanian.

Oscan was spoken over a wide area from the borders of Latium southward to Bruttium and northern Apulia.

Umbrian was spoken in the extensive region named after the Umbrians, from the shore of the Adriatic westwards to Etruria, and northwards as far as Gaulish territory.

The earliest Latin inscription[1] dates from the seventh century B.C. Latin is particularly interesting as forming a subordinate parallel, as it were, to the history of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. Several separate and mutually unintelligible branches have developed from one tongue which we have fully preserved.

VIII. Celtic.

i. Gaulish (the Celtic of the Continent).
ii. Bretonic or Cymric.
(*a*) Welsh ; (*b*) Cornish ; (*c*) Breton.
iii. Gaelic or Goidelic.
(*a*) Irish-Gaelic ; (*b*) Scotch-Gaelic ; (*c*) Manx.

Celtic place-names are found on the Continent as far east as the Dniester and Dobrudja, and as far north as Westphalia. The language of the Galatians in Asia Minor must have stood in very close relation to Gaulish. Gaulish is also known to us by names and words quoted by Latin and Greek authors and by inscriptions on coins. The oldest records of Welsh and Breton date from the eighth century A.D. ; the oldest Gaelic monuments, the Ogam inscriptions, go back to at least the fifth century A.D., and may even be earlier.

IX. Germanic.

i. East Germanic or Gothic.[2]
ii. North Germanic or Scandinavian or Norse.[2]
(*a*) Swedish ; (*b*) Gutnish ; (*c*) Danish ; (*d*) Norwegian ; (*e*) Icelandic.

[1] Note the more Greek appearance, case endings, and reduplicated verb of the earliest Latin inscription (on a brooch) : MANIOS : MED : FHE : FHAKED : NVMASIOI (Manios made me for Numasios).

[2] Gothic and Norse are often classified as two divisions under the head of East Germanic ; the reason for this will be seen in § 6. It is, however, clearer to distinguish a North Germanic group.

iii. West Germanic.

(*a*) English; (*b*) Frisian; (*c*) Low German (with Low Franconian); (*d*) High German.

The geographical distribution of the Germanic-speaking tribes is known to us from historical sources from the first century A.D. (Tacitus). At this time they extended from Scandinavia to Central Germany. In the north were the ancestors of the present-day Scandinavians; in Germany (if we start from Schleswig-Holstein and travel south and south-east) the Angles, the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Alemanns (Swabians), and the Bavarians; from the Oder to the Vistula Burgundians and Vandals and on the lower Vistula the Goths. Later in the third and fourth centuries came the crossings to Britain of the ancestors of the English: the Angles and those Saxons nearest the coast, together with some Jutes. Early in the fourth century a special coast defence against Saxon pirates had been established in Britain reaching from the Wash to Spithead; by the end of the fifth century, in all probability, all the eastern part of the country, at least up to the Humber, was in their hands.

Our knowledge of Gothic is derived almost entirely from the fragments of a translation of the Bible which was made by the Arian bishop Wulfila (d. 383), for the Goths who dwelt on the lower Danube. Of the New Testament we have the second epistle to the Corinthians complete, together with more or less considerable fragments of the four gospels and of all the other Pauline epistles; of the Old only three short fragments of the Book of Nehemiah. There is also an incomplete commentary (Skeireins) on St. John's Gospel. The languages spoken by the Vandals, the Gepidae, and possibly the Burgundians are assumed to have stood in close relationship to Gothic. The last survival of Gothic was amongst the remnant of Goths in the Crimea, observed and mentioned about the middle of the sixteenth century by an imperial envoy at Constantinople, the Dutch physician, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, who collected some eighty words of their language.

Scandinavian written literature seems to have begun in the twelfth century A.D. (the Edda), but many poems are probably from two to three centuries older. In the north there are also a large number of runic inscriptions which are of great value for linguistic purposes, the earliest of them dating back probably to the third century.

Of the West Germanic languages, English, owing to its

geographical position, developed most independently. Its history is usually divided into the three periods: Old English (often termed Anglo-Saxon) up to *c.* 1100, with the divisions, West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian; Middle English, 1100 to 1500; and New English, from 1500 onwards. The earliest great literary monument in Old English is Beowulf, dating from the seventh century A.D.

In Frisian, the oldest records go back at least to the fourteenth century A.D.

Of Old Low German the earliest great literary monument is the Heliand, belonging to the ninth century. Old Low German is frequently termed Old Saxon; Middle Low German, from 1100 to 1600; and from 1600 onwards, New Low German, or Plattdeutsch.

Old Low Franconian is the ancestor of modern Dutch, Flemish, Brabantish and Limburgish. It is called Old Low Franconian to *c.* 1100; Middle Low Franconian or Middle Dutch, from 1100 to 1600; from 1600 onwards, New Low Franconian or New Dutch.

The oldest monuments of High German go back to about the middle of the eighth century (see § 7). It is customary to divide the history of High German into the usual periods of Old, Middle, and New: OHG. from about 600 to 1100; MHG. from 1100 to 1500; and NGH. from 1500 onwards. 1500 to *c.* 1650 is often called early NHG. With the proviso that all limiting periods are only made for practical purposes in the story of evolution, one does nevertheless approximate nearer to the actual course of linguistic history by adopting the following divisions:

1. OHG. period, *c.* 600 to 1050.

2. MHG. period, 1050 to 1350.

3. Transition period, from MHG. to NHG. 1350 to 1650 (late MHG. and early NHG.).

4. NHG. period, from 1650 onwards.

Concerning the continuity between OHG. and MHG. and the division of the MHG. period as a literary rather than a linguistic period, see § 8. To start the New High German period with Luther is to be avoided, for his language in many respects stands closer to MHG. than to NHG.; hence the justification for this division of a transition period in the middle of which he stands as the commanding figure. Concerning his influence see § 9.

The dialects are grouped under three heads :

1. Upper German — (*a*) Bavarian - Austrian (Austria was colonized from Bavaria) ; (*b*) Alemannic (High and Low). Swabian.

2. West Middle German—(*a*) East Franconian ; (*b*) Rhenish Franconian ; (*c*) Middle Franconian.

3. East Middle German—(*a*) Thuringian ; (*b*) Upper Saxon ; (*c*) Silesian.

For the purpose of Old High German only groups 1 and 2 count. The main territory of East Middle German, east of the Elbe, was Slavonic until the German colonizing activity of the Middle High German period.

The map overleaf shows the approximate distribution of the dialects and the other languages in the OHG. period, the arrows denoting the later extension eastwards, consequent upon the colonizing activity in the middle period of the language, of (1) Low German, and (2) Middle German.

As regards the name *Deutsch.* In Latin sources of the ninth century the word *theotiscus* first occurs as a designation for German.[1] It would seem to be of learned origin, *diutisc* being derived from *diot*, meaning people, so that the adjective would mean originally that which appertains to the people. The form *tiutsch*, so frequent in MHG., as well as the *teutsch* of the Upper German writers of the classical period (cf. der Teutsche Merkur) should be noted.

As regards the name *German.* This word may be either of Germanic or of Celtic origin, though the tribes designated by Caesar as Germani were much more probably Celts (likewise the *Teutones*). In any case it is another instance of the transference of the name of the nearest neighbouring tribe or collection of tribes to the whole group (cf. French *allemand* from the *Alemannen*, the name of the nearest neighbouring tribe being applied to the whole nation).

Similarly with Teuton and Teutonic, the name of one tribe is applied to the whole group, but in this case is of scholastic and not popular origin. The word Teuton is however a word of real Germanic origin but in a Celtic form.

[1] The word is to be met with for the first time towards the end of the eighth century, but is used from that time until the end of the ninth century in the sense of the vernacular, e.g. it stands for Anglo-Saxon as well as German. By *c.* 1000 its meaning is circumscribed to German alone.

Boundaries between High German and other languages marked.-----
,, ,, the three groups of High German ,, —·—·—·—
,, ,, the dialects within the groups ,, ...

CHAPTER II

FROM INDO-GERMANIC TO NEW HIGH GERMAN: A GENERAL SURVEY

§ 5. The chief characteristics which differentiate Germanic from the other branches of Indo-Germanic are:

1. The Germanic or First Sound-shifting, known as Grimm's Law, with the corollary known as Verner's Law (see §§ 17 and 18).

2. Recessive, fixed accent.

The accentuation in Indo-Germanic, as in Old Greek and Modern Swedish, was largely pitch accent (musical), not stress accent as we have it in English and German to-day; the accent was movable and might fall on a suffix just as well as on the root of a word. In Germanic, just as we see it in Modern English and German, the accent is always stress accent; it always falls upon the root syllable of a word and stays there in all inflexional forms. (See § 18.)

3. Consequent upon the exclusive adoption of stress accent, the dropping or weakening of final inflexional syllables and the gradual weakening of vowels in syllables of secondary stress as well (see § 29 ff.).

4. The development of the so-called weak declension of adjectives (see § 61); and the great increase of the weak or *n* declension of nouns (see § 45).

5. The development of the preterite of weak verbs (see § 57).

§ 6. The chief characteristics which differentiate West Germanic from the other two groups of Germanic (Gothic and Old Norse stand, in certain respects, in closer relation to one another than either of them do to West Germanic) are:

1. The form of the second person singular of the preterite indicative of strong verbs ends in West Germanic in an *i*, whereas in the other two groups the ending is a *t*, e.g.:

{Gothic *namt* but OHG. *nāmi*, MHG. *nāme*.
{Old Norse *gaft* but OHG. *gābi*, MHG. *gābe*.

(For the modern forms *nahmst* and *gabst* see § 51.)

2. The gemination of consonants in West Germanic (see § 20).

3. The loss of the final *z* which came from an older *s* (see § 20).

§ 7. The chief characteristic which differentiates High German from the other West Germanic languages is the High German or second sound-shifting[1] (see § 21). Within the West Germanic group there subsists a closer relation between Old High German and Old Saxon on the one hand and Old English and Old Frisian on the other. The oldest indications of a Germanic language are found in place and personal names mentioned by Julius Caesar, Strabo, Pliny and Tacitus, and in Latin inscriptions containing Germanic words. Of runic inscriptions there are some twenty for Old German. Out of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, although Latin was the language used, there is much valuable material for the philologist in deeds, drawn up on German soil containing German place and personal names with merely Latin endings. Actual records[2] go back to the middle of the eighth century and the oldest is the

[1] On the basis of this difference the other three divisions of West Germanic (English, Frisian, Low German) are sometimes classed together as Low German in contradistinction to High German; but, as Low German has its definitely accepted meaning as one of the four divisions of West Germanic, it is advisable to avoid its use in another sense.

[2] The following is a list of the more important works in OHG.:

1. Upper German—
   (*a*) Bavarian-Austrian.
      The Glossary of Hrabanus Maurus.
      The Monseer Fragments.
      The Exhortatio.
      The Muspilli.
      The Wessobrunner Gebet.
   (*b*) Alemannic. Literary centre St. Gallen.
      The Glossary of Kero.
      The Benedictinerregel.

Glossary of Kero (740). The extant literature of the period is entirely clerical, with the exception of two charms and one poem, the Hildebrandslied, fragmentary, which go back in matter and metre to the period before the introduction of Christianity. The existence of Old High German as an individual language with its own peculiar sounds and inflexions must, of course, date several centuries earlier. Some of the innovations which condition it, it possesses in common with Old Saxon, Frisian, and especially with Old English, and these agreements, common to all West Germanic dialects, must perforce have arisen before the fifth century, since owing to the migration of the Angles and Saxons to Britain *c.* 450, close connexion between them and the continental Germanic tribes then became impossible. Other sound-changes then spread over the narrower High German language territory by which the neighbouring Saxon and Franconian speaking territories were unaffected; it is through these changes which concern especially the consonants that the specifically High German sounds have been produced and the contrast between High German and Low German has arisen. The date for the beginning of this second sound-shifting, the High German, is fixed by the Middle High German name-form of Etzel for the king of the Huns, Attila (†453) as having occurred *c.* A.D. 500 (see § 21). Finally, there are sound-changes too, which, within the High German language territory itself, have become only partially effective and thus are valid only in certain dialects, so that we have to distinguish particularly between Upper German (Bavarian, Alemannic) and Middle German (East Franconian, Rhenish Franconian, Middle Franconian, and Thuringian), distinctions

---

Notker's Works.
The Reichenau Glossary.
The Murbach Hymns.

2. West Middle German—
   (*a*) East Franconian. Literary centre Fulda.
   Tatian.
   (*b*) Rhenish Franconian.
   Otfrid's Evangelienbuch (with its own South Franconian characteristics).
   Isidorus.
   Ludwigslied.
   (*c*) Middle Franconian. Nothing of importance.

which still endure to-day to a large extent in the dialects of modern German. Old High German may be described as the period of full endings. From OHG. to MHG. the most characteristic differences are:

1. The weakening of the OHG. vowels to *e* in unaccented syllables (see § 30).

2. The spread of umlaut (see § 27).

§ 8. Middle High German: 1050 to 1350. The demarcation of the Middle High German period in contrast to an Old High German period is justified rather from the standpoint of literary than linguistic history. In the older period the German language, being used, apart from its use by the people, almost exclusively for purposes of teaching and religion, served as a rule only to explain or to translate works from Latin literature. In the twelfth century, however, a really German literature was developed, standing it is true under the influence of foreign models, but nevertheless independent and individual, and it reached, in the works of the great classics, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Straßburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Walther von der Vogelweide, such a height that one may justly designate this impetus to literature as the introduction of a new period. Compared with it, linguistic development was much more continuous; changes in sound and inflexion which had already begun in Old High German were now completed or extended over the whole language territory; certain tendencies to sound-changes which had already operated in Old High German became operative again and brought about the same results as formerly; but everywhere the connexion and continuity between the so-called old period and middle period of the language is maintained and nowhere is its development disturbed by any break. The dialect differences within the German language territory produced by earlier sound-changes are therefore for the most part preserved and are indeed in many regions even increased by new changes during the MHG. period. New dialects, too, arise, owing to the colonizing activity of this period on the territory, until then Slavonic, east of the Elbe, viz. the other two East Middle German dialects, Upper Saxon and Silesian. From the standpoint of its literature, Middle High German, the

language of the classics of the period, has however an essentially unified character and is Upper German. There have therefore not been wanting adherents to the theory of Lachmann that there was a standard written language in the Middle High German period and that it died out with the decay of literature in the fourteenth century. This unity was a literary convention born of necessity, as we shall see, valid only for the actual language of the poets but not for other written uses of the language, as for instance, official documents. For the language of the poets the unifying tendency is easily to be explained from the use of rhyme, manipulated with a strict regard to pronunciation, and from the whole technique of verse writing which led to the preservation of certain conventional formulae (especially to the adoption of suitable rhymes). Moreover, consideration had now to be given to an actual literary public, for the poetical works must now be understood beyond the mere limits of the authors' own dialect territory; the consequent result was of course a striving to avoid dialectal peculiarities both in the choice of words and their pronunciation. For, on the one hand, strong dialectal colouring would have made the understanding of a poem extremely difficult in other dialect regions, and on the other hand would ruin the beauty of the rhymes which would perforce be destroyed on translation into another dialect, whether by declamation or copying. The Middle High German poetical language was perfected in Upper Germany which was in the classical period the centre of the literary life. An essentially Upper German type of language became thereby obligatory for all literary activity at this time, and to it poets of Middle Germany and even of Low Germany had to conform. Nevertheless, as is only to be expected, the Middle High German poetical language is not entirely without dialect traces; not only the Middle German and Low German but even the Upper German poets show in their works now and then dialectal peculiarities which clearly prove that in spite of the literary unity of the language the old dialect differences existed unaltered. With the decay of poetical technique at the beginning of the fourteenth century this similarity is lost again by degrees and the dialects again become predominant.

§ 9. The transition period 1350 to 1650: LMHG. and ENHG. The modern written language is the result of a long movement towards unity and to it several dialects have contributed. When in the thirteenth century a beginning was made to use the mother tongue instead of Latin, not only for literary purposes but also for purely practical purposes, the language was decidedly inferior from the point of view of general intelligibility to the international language formerly customary. The care of the writers, therefore, who wished their productions to be recognized beyond the narrow limits of their own dialect territory was bound, as has been seen, to be an avoidance as far as possible of all dialectal peculiarities and the attainment of an increased intelligibility through concession to other dialects. Such rules of language became an urgent necessity for the chanceries of princes whose territory extended over several dialect territories. There were at first several of these Kanzleisprachen differing more or less. We find traces of them as early as the fourteenth century, when the imperial chancery, which under the Luxemburgers had its headquarters at Prague, made the attempt to establish an agreement for official language purposes between Upper Saxon and Austrian. These endeavours of the imperial chancery were systematically continued by the Hapsburgers and were soon imitated by other chanceries too, particularly by that of the elector of Saxony, so that by about 1500 a fairly generally accepted standard existed for inter-chancery dealings. This chancery language became, however, only an actual literary and written language through the influence of Luther. For his writings which were directed to the whole German nation, he could not make use of a dialect that would be understood only in one region, and used therefore the chancery language of the empire and the Saxon electorate as the "common German language," which, in Luther's opinion both Upper and Low German would be able to understand.[1] This

[1] Luther, *Tischreden*, chap. 69 "ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene sprach im teutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen teutschen sprach, daß mich beide Ober- und Niderländer verstehen mögen. Ich red nach der sächsischen cantzeley, welcher nachfolgen alle fürsten und könige im teutsch lande, alle reichstätte, fürstenhöfe schreiben nach der sächsischen und unsers fürsten cantzeley, darumb ists auch die

language was thus to aid the spread of his own writings and the Reformation movement, but in this very service was itself advanced in a way which Luther could never have suspected. For the language was here taken abroad in the land in works which were really read in wide circles throughout the whole of Germany; but those who read Luther's Bible translation became at the same time acquainted with Luther's language forms, and thus the new type of language was generally known and soon recognized to be a standard. In many ways, of course, the New High German written language has been worked up in the centuries since, but its fundamental character was fixed once for all by Luther's use of the "kursächsisch-kaiserliche Kanzleisprache" as his standard. It was a mixed language (Mischsprache) which had taken up both Upper German and Middle German peculiarities, and just one which therefore could count upon being understood over the whole German language territory. New High German is therefore a newly formed language, artificially formed, so to speak, and therefore no organic continuation of Middle High German.

Luther's share in the establishment of the written language is often misleadingly stated; he was not the creator, but his title to father of the modern literary language may be accepted in the sense that the language he adopted attained under him a rank no dialect hitherto had done. It was not that he was the first to use German for ordinary general literary purposes apart from poetry; towards the end of the fourteenth century German is increasingly used for historical purposes and in the fifteenth century literary German prose is in being. It was not that his was the first German translation of the Bible; devotional and religious books as well as translations of the Bible and parts of it were already in existence in the fourteenth century and were increased in the fifteenth. By 1518 fourteen translations of the Bible had been published in High German alone. The reason was that Luther was a genius wielding his language in sincere conviction as a weapon to further his

gemeinste teutsche sprach. Kaiser Maximilian und Churfürst Friderich hertzog von Sachsen haben im römischen reiche die deutschen sprachen also in eine gewisse sprach zusammengezogen."

cause. "Luther (b. Eisleben 1483), by birth a Low German, had come into contact with people of all stations speaking Low and Upper German. No Bible translated into strict Upper German would have been accepted or even understood by North Germany. Moreover, Luther, as a son of the people, had a full appreciation of folk-lore and all that is volkstümlich, of proverbs, saws and songs, and this made him a translator for the people. The Proverbs of Solomon and the Psalms are without doubt the most taking portions of his translation. Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522, the whole Bible in 1534. Besides the Bible, the catechism, hymns, sermons, and numerous polemical pamphlets were written and read in the new language. With the Reformation began also the Volksschule and the first grammars and Formelbücher appeared, written often by the lawyers, who, of course, favoured the Kanzleisprache. But last and foremost of all it was the invention of printing some fifty years before the Reformation which made a common language possible. The clerks would write and spell as they spoke, that is according to their own dialect. Printing brought about a certain uniformity in the orthography. It spread the language to the most different parts of the country. About the year 1600 books were already cheap in comparison to the costly manuscripts."[1]

From Middle High German to New High German the chief differences are :

1. The diphthongization of MHG. ī, ū and iu (see § 28 II).
2. The monothongization of ie, uo, üe (see § 28 III).
3. The lengthening of short vowels in open syllables in MHG. (see § 28 I*a*).
4. The shortening of long vowels before consonant combinations (see § 28 II).
5. The spread of umlaut by analogy especially in the plural of nouns (see §§ 36, 37).
6. Various levellings and new formations in the singular present indicative of strong verbs (see § 52).
7. The loss of the MHG. distinction between the stem vowel of the singular and plural in the preterite indicative of strong verbs by levelling out one or other of the stem forms (see § 52).

[1] After Brandt, *German Grammar* (7th edition), §§ 486 and 487.

§ 10. New High German from 1650 onwards. By New High German we mean the whole of the language forms of modern German which are recognized as standard throughout the whole German language territory owing to their use by the classical writers, codified in rules in the more recent grammars and dictionaries. These standards thus set up are valid primarily only for the written use of the language, but become by degrees standard for the spoken language too, particularly and most thoroughly on the occasion of any conscious oral rendering of the written language, in declamation or lecture, in the language of the stage, die Bühnensprache, but much less so in the unrestricted oral use of the language in ordinary educated circles, the language of intercourse, die Umgangssprache. Almost untouched on the other hand by such standards is the actual language of the people, die Volkssprache.

"The most important difference between the Middle High German and the New High German languages is that the latter has a uniform Schriftsprache. The German language now runs in two streams: the dialects, flowing along in their natural traditionary bed, branching out into numberless little channels; and the Schriftsprache moving in an artificial bed, provided with sluices and filters to get rid of the mud and rubble. This distinction between natural and artificial is very important; the natural development is to be found in the dialects, whilst the literary language is a preparation which no more exists in nature than distilled water.[1]"

Only gradually, not suddenly, does the written language become the standard literary language. Already in the Middle High German period, as we have seen, German was beginning to be used along with Latin as the language of learning and scholarship; and the writings of the Reformation gave it an extraordinary impetus as a written language in the sixteenth century; but it was just in the sixteenth century too that a reaction took place under the influence of Humanism. "At no period of German history was the popular mind in such a ferment as in the sixteenth century; no age produced such masterpieces of popular rhetoric and popular satire, and during this century the church hymn and

[1] Behaghel, as in Trechmann's translation, p. 25.

folk-song reached their highest point of excellence; but it was at the same time during this century that Latin authorship became a new power and that Latin even became to some extent the language of poetry. The Humanists and their successors debated and disputed in Latin; their correspondence was in Latin; they wrote Latin verses; and the comedies of Terence were brought to life again in the schools. It became the custom among scholars to turn their own names into Latin or Greek.[1] In this manner a great deal of force which might have been of the utmost importance for the development of German was expended in the wrong direction. Only in the seventeenth century was the almost unlimited dominion of Latin [and of French too as the elegant language of conversation] resisted; this time by a conscious patriotic striving to raise the mother tongue to honour,[2] whilst in the middle period the spread of German prose had been more unconscious and natural. The first German of the seventeenth century, Leibnitz, stood upon the boundary line between the old and the new epochs; his own principal works were written in Latin, but in theoretic treatises written in German he pleaded for the dignity and cultivation of his native tongue. . . . These treatises, appearing posthumously, could not exercise the influence due to the personality of their author; but younger contemporaries of Leibnitz took decisive steps. In the winter of 1687–88 Christian Thomasius first held a course of lectures in German at the University of Leipzig, and in 1688 published the first German literary periodical. Christian Wolff made German the language of philosophy." [3]

Owing then to the influence of Humanism, reactionary from the point of view of language, 70 per cent of the books printed in Germany in 1570 were in Latin; but from then onwards German gains ground, increasing more particularly in the seventies of the seventeenth century. In 1681 German books are for the first time in the majority, and in 1691 Latin for the last time. About 1730 writings in Latin

[1] Cf. amongst others Dr. Caius (anglice Keys), the second founder of Gonville and Caius College.

[2] Cf. the Sprachgesellschaften of this time.

[3] Behaghel-Trechmann, pp. 24-25.

make up only 30 per cent of the total publications, and by the end of the eighteenth century Latin is as good as extinct. In this supplanting of Latin the different divisions of literature participated by no means equally. In Protestant theological literature German was always of course predominant, except in so far as specifically learned works are concerned. In poetry until 1680 Latin was considerably more used and then rapidly declines. In history, German is already more used than Latin towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in the beginning of the eighteenth the same condition applies for philosophy and medicine. As might be expected it is the Law which holds longest to Latin, in which faculty only in 1752 are the majority of works in German.

In the eighteenth century too there is another attack that undermines to some extent, but only temporarily, the use of German for general purposes. At Court, particularly under Frederick the Great, and in society, the elegant fashion is to speak French, and French is used to some extent as the language of literature. From 1750 to 1780 some 10 per cent of the literary productions in Germany were in French; this influence passed, though it left behind many French words which have become acclimatized in the German vocabulary and to it is due also the adoption of the uvular r. This latter is perhaps the most striking sound-change we have to notice within the actual NHG. period itself (see § 22).

As regards the vocabulary of New High German it is essentially Middle German. Purely Upper German words, not very numerous, denote things belonging essentially to the south and the mountains: *Alp*, *Gletscher*, *Lawine*, *Matte*, *Senn*; whilst words from Low German, more numerous, denote similarly things belonging to the north, navigation and maritime life, and some agricultural terms: *Brise*, *Bucht*, *Düne*, *Hafen*, *Hafer*, *Roggen*. Occasionally the same word occurs in both a High and Low German form, e.g. *Waffen* and *Wappen* (see § 21), *sanft* and *sacht* (see § 22), etc.

CHAPTER III

ON PHONETICS

§ 11. Before approaching the history of the actual sound-changes in detail, it is essential to acquire a working knowledge of the production of speech sounds, of the technical terminology used in the science of language and of phonetic script. The actual material of speech is the current of air forced from the lungs, and articulation takes place through the working up of this current of air by the organs of speech. The accompanying diagram may be of assistance :

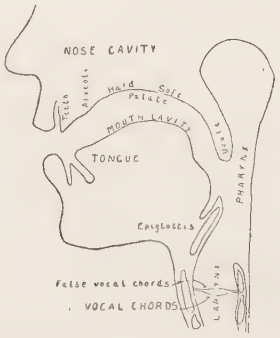


Fig. 1.

The organs of speech and the essential places of articulation are :

(*a*) *The Larynx with the Vocal Chords.*—The larynx may be called the most essential organ for the production of vocal sounds. The front of it is the so-called Adam's apple.

It is a collection of cartilages situated at the top of the windpipe and opening into the back of the mouth. Across the middle of it stretch two sets of membranes, the so-called vocal chords. The upper set play no part in the production of vocal sounds and are called the false vocal chords. Below them are the true vocal chords and the slit between them is called the glottis. In ordinary breathing the glottis is wide open; with the voiceless sounds it is narrowed; with the voiced sounds it is opened and closed in rapid alternation, the vocal chords being tightened by the action of the muscles and brought close together so that the air current passing between causes them to vibrate and in this tense condition it is that voice is produced. The so-called glottal stop in German is the short explosive sound consequent on the forcing open of the glottis by the breath.

(*b*) *The so-called Delta, i.e. the Mouth and Nose Cavity.*—Both of these act as a resonance chamber and give to the sound produced by the vocal chords its real tone.

(*c*) *The Velum or Soft Palate with the Uvula.*—When the velum is raised the nose cavity, which would otherwise play its part as a resonance chamber, is cut off from the mouth cavity which then acts by itself as the resonance chamber. The velum consequently is pressed against the back of the throat, here called the pharynx, in the production of all except nasal and nasalized sounds.[1] The uvula vibrating against the back wall of the pharynx causes the back R sound.

(*d*) *The Tongue.*—Owing to its rich muscular apparatus, the tongue can take up an immense number of positions. It can be placed close to the upper jaw either to leave a narrow space or to effect a closure, either against the teeth, the alveoli, the hard palate or the soft palate; and so one speaks of an interdental and post dental, an alveolar, a palatal, and a velar position for the tongue. The terms dorsal, coronal, and lateral are used to denote respectively the back, the point or tip, and the sides of the tongue. The tip of the tongue is turned up and vibrates in the production of the front r; the lateral edge or edges of the tongue are

[1] The phonetic transcript of the nasal vowels for the modern languages is usually ɑ̃, ɛ̃, ɔ̃, œ̃ as in Fr. *an, main, on, un*; the other transcription (see Preface) is ą, ę, į, ǫ, ų.

curved upwards in l; in the middle of the tongue a hollow may be formed as in ʃ, or a furrow as in s.

(*e*) *The Lips.*—The lips may be drawn back at the corners, may remain neutral, as in ordinary breathing through the mouth, or may be rounded and protruded. The intermediate positions and the possible modifications of the air current by the lips are therefore obviously great in number.

§ 12. The great practical distinction in speech sounds is between sonants and consonants. Sonants are those sounds which can form a syllable, consonants are those which can not. It is customary to regard the vowels as the only syllable bearers, but this is a mistake; there are several consonants which can be used as sonants, just as, vice versa, the two vowels i and u can be used as consonants. The sonants include: the vowels as customarily understood, the nasals, and the liquids. The consonants include: the consonants as customarily understood, together with *i* and *u* used consonantally. The vowels, also known as sonorous sounds, are all voiced, and the air passage is totally unobstructed, the air current being only modified in resonance by the mouth or nose cavity, or by both. In describing them phonetically and their place of production we have therefore to speak more in detail of the position of the tongue than in the case of the consonants, for with the consonants other parts of the mouth play an equally important part in their production. To describe the consonants, besides stating the place of articulation, we have to distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants—in contrast to the vowels, which are all voiced; and we have to denote to what extent the air passage is narrowed or closed—in contrast to the vowels, with which the air passage is always quite open.

§ 13. The Sonants. 1. The Vowels.—The accompanying diagrams (Figs. 2 and 3) may help to illustrate the remarks on the vowels.

One can realize clearly the alteration of the position of the tongue in the mouth merely by articulating the vowels. It is easy to feel how the tongue is comparatively bunched up towards the back for the back vowels and comes forward for the front vowels. For detailed diagrams concerning the German vowels

the student is referred to the very complete pictorial table in Bremer's *Deutsche Phonetik*, where he will find the material to

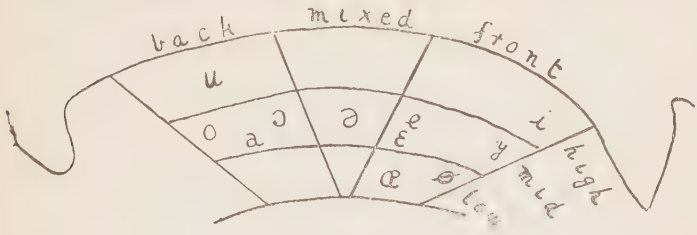


Fig. 2.

compare the relative raising and lowering of the tongue and its backward and forward positions; from that table the following

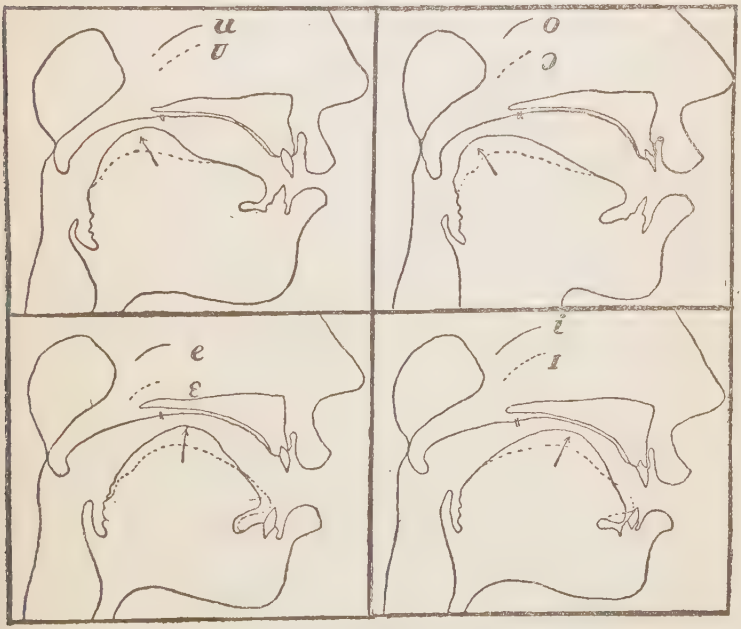


Fig. 3.

four diagrams are adapted, the two top illustrations being of back vowels, the two bottom ones of front vowels.

(*a*) The vowels are divided into front, mixed, and back vowels according to the relative position and shape of the tongue from a horizontal point of view. If the middle part of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate they are called front vowels; if the rear part of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate they are called back vowels; and those produced in the middle region are called mixed.

(*b*) The above distinction was according as the tongue was pushed forward or drawn back (horizontally); we have also to define the vertical position, how the tongue is raised and lowered, and according to its relatively high, middle or low position the vowels are termed high, mid, and low vowels.

(*c*) We have to distinguish between close (also called tense and narrow) and open (also called lax and wide) vowels, to denote whether the tongue muscles are tense, so that the position of the articulating part of the tongue is nearer to the palate and the opening for the air is smaller, or whether the tongue muscles are relatively relaxed with the tongue position further from the palate and the opening for the air larger.

(*d*) According to the position of the cheeks and lips we have to distinguish between rounded and unrounded vowels.

(*e*) The vowels can of course all, wherever they are produced, be long or short. The sign for length in phonetic transcript is ː, and if a vowel is not marked long, it is understood to be short. The following are the phonetic symbols of the vocalic sounds that will come under consideration in this book, starting at the back of the mouth and travelling forwards:

uː back high close round long, as in *gut* [guːt].
ʊ[1] back high open round short, as in *Mutter* [mʊtɐ̯].
oː back mid close round long, as in *so* [zoː].
ɔ back mid open round short, as in *Sonne* [zɔnə].
aː back mid open unrounded long, as in *Vater* [faːtɐ̯].
a back mid open unrounded short, as in *Fall* [fal].
ə mixed mid close unrounded short, as in *Knabe* [knaːbə].
øː front low close round long, as in *schön* [ʃøːn].

[1] Strictly, the short ɪ and ʊ are those which are used consonantally; but the usual symbols are ɰ and i̯: *wish* (ɰiʃ), *Familie* (famiːli̯ə).

œː front low open round short, as in *öffnen* [œfnən].
ɛː front mid open unrounded long, as in *Bär* [bɛːr].
ɛ front mid open unrounded short, as in *fett* [fɛt].
eː front mid close unrounded long, as in *fehlen* [feːln̥].
yː front mid close round long, as in *kühn* [kyːn].
ʏ front mid open round short, as in *Mütter* [mʏtr̥].
iː front high close unrounded long, as in *ihn* [iːn].
ɪ[1] front high open unrounded short, as in *mit* [mɪt].

2. The Nasals.—The vowels were all oral sounds. In producing nasals, the resonance chamber is not merely the mouth but a part of the mouth and the nasal cavity. The passage to the nose is opened by lowering the velum so that it does not press against the back wall of the pharynx. m, n, and ŋ are produced similarly to b, d, and g with the difference that in the former case the nasal passage is open. For their technical descriptions see under consonants; when used as sonants the phonetic symbols are as follows:

m̥ as in G. *Atem* or E. *fathom* ['aːtm̥ and fadm̥].
n̥ as in G. *binden* or E. *golden* [bindn̥, goːldn̥].
ŋ̊ not occurring as a standard sound but to be heard in a quick conversational pronunciation of G. *singen* [siŋŋ̊] or *denken* [dɛnkŋ̊].[2]

3. The Liquids.—The vowels and the nasals were articulated with the flat of the tongue: dorsal articulation. The liquids l and r are articulated with the rim of the tongue, with l at one or both sides:

r̥ as in *Bruder* [bruːdr̥ (Bühnenaussprache)].
l̥ as in *Handel* [handl̥].

(the hissing spirants s and z also occur occasionally as sonants: G. *ist's* [ists̬], E. *flashes* [flaʃz̬]).

§ 14. The Consonants.—To define a consonant we must state

(*a*) Whether it is voiced or voiceless.
(*b*) Where it is articulated.
(*c*) To what extent the air passage is obstructed.

[1] See note 1, p. 28.
[2] For this assimilation in conversation of a vocalic *n* coming after a labial or a palatal cf. also [lebm̥, gebm̥] for *leben*, *geben*, etc.

There is only one consonantal sound, apart from the glottal stop, which is produced with the air passage quite open, the aspirate h. The sounds produced after the complete closure of the air passage are called stops (also termed explosives and occlusives). These are b—p, d—t, g—k. With the strong pressure of expiration an aspirate sound is often heard after the explosive sound in certain cases in Anglo-Irish pronunciation and North-German pronunciation; such sounds are known as aspirated stops and we shall find in Indo-Germanic bh, ph, dh, th, gh, kh (cf. the Anglo-Irish pronunciation of *boy* (bhoi), *pig* (phig), etc.). The sounds produced with a narrowing of the air passage are called spirants (also termed continuants and fricatives). The following are the phonetic symbols of the consonants taking them in the order of their production upwards from the larynx to the lips:

1. In the larynx itself:

   ʔ The glottal stop (voiceless) as in *Unart* [ʔunʔart].
   h voiceless laryngeal spirant as in *Hund* [hunt].

2. With the uvula:

   ʀ [1] voiced uvular trill as in *rauh* [ʀau].
   ʀ̥ [1] voiceless uvular trill, as in *treu* [tʀ̥oi].

3. With the tongue in contact with the soft palate:

   g voiced velar stop, as in *gut* [gu:t].
   gh voiced velar aspirated stop, as in Anglo-Irish *girl* [ghirl].
   k voiceless velar stop, as in *Kram* [kram].
   kh voiceless velar aspirated stop, as in *kund* [khunt].
   ɣ (ʒ) [2] voiced velar spirant, as in *sagen* [za:ɣn̥].
   x (χ) [2] voiceless velar spirant, as in *ach* ['ax].
   ŋ voiced velar nasal, as in *sang* [zaŋ].
   ŋ̥ voiceless velar nasal, as in *sank* [zaŋ̥k].

[1] The r of ordinary conversation is nowadays, of course, the uvular r, symbol ʀ; the ordinary trilled r, symbol r, is used in the Bühnenaussprache. English r is not a trill, but a single tap of the tongue.

[2] The symbols in brackets are also frequently used to denote the sound described.

4. With the tongue in contact with the hard palate:

j voiced palatal spirant, as in *ja* [jaː].
ç voiceless palatal spirant, as in *ich* [iç].

5. With the tongue against the alveoli:

d voiced alveolar stop, as in *da* [daː].
dh voiced alveolar aspirated stop, as in Anglo-Irish *did* [dhid].
t voiceless alveolar stop, as in *Stadt* [ʃtat].
th[1] voiceless alveolar aspirated stop, as in *tot* [thoːt].
z hissing voiced alveolar spirant: tongue dorsal, as in *so* [zoː].
ʒ (ž)[2] hushing voiced alveolar spirant: tongue coronal, as in *Journal* [ʒurnaːl].
s hissing voiceless alveolar spirant, as in *groß* [groːs].
ʃ (š)[2] hushing voiceless alveolar spirant, as in *schon* [ʃoːn].
l voiced alveolar lateral, as in *lang* [laŋ].
l̥ voiceless alveolar lateral, as in *klang* [kl̥aŋ].
n voiced alveolar nasal, as in *nein* [nain].
n̥ voiceless alveolar nasal, as in *bunt* [bun̥t].
r[3] voiced alveolar trill, as in *rauh* [rau (Bühnenaussprache)].
r̥[3] voiceless alveolar trill, as in *treu* [tr̥ol (Bühnenaussprache)].

6. With the tongue against the teeth:

đ voiced post-dental spirant, as in *thou* [đau].
þ voiceless post-dental spirant, as in *thin* [þin].
v voiced labio-dental spirant, as in *wahr* [vaːʀ].
f voiceless labio-dental spirant, as in *fahren* [faːʀn̥].

7. The bi-labial sounds:

b voiced bi-labial stop, as in *buch* [buːx].

[1] Not to be confused as a phonetic sign with th of ordinary English, which symbol in writing represents a single sound, either đ or þ (see later).

[2] The symbols in brackets are also frequently used to denote the sound described.

[3] See note 1, p. 30.

bh voiced bi-labial aspirated stop, as in Anglo-Irish *boy* [bhoi].
p voiceless bi-labial stop, as in *platt* [plat].
ph voiceless bi-labial aspirated stop, as in *Puck* [phak].
ƀ voiceless bi-labial spirant, as in *zwar* [tsƀar].
m voiced bi-labial nasal, as in *mein* [main].
m̥ voiceless bi-labial nasal, as in *Schmerz* [ʃm̥erts].

An affricate is the term given to the combination of voiceless stop and corresponding (homorganous) spirant:

p + f > pf as in *Apfel.*
t + s > ts as in *zehn.*
k + x > kx, has existed as will be seen later (§ 21), but survives now only in certain south-west German dialects.

§ 15. The development of a language proceeds along two lines:

1. Either according to the phonetical laws, the large general laws modified by the special minor laws (particular positions, effect of particular consonants and the like). Under phonetical development we distinguish between (*a*) spontaneous change (origin unknown), and (*b*) change due to combination (the effect, on the sound affected, of sounds following or preceding: assimilation and dissimilation, umlaut and brechung, palatalization and velarization).

2. Or on the lines of analogy. This may take the form of a sound in one word affecting the sound in another word with a similar or allied meaning; it may cause a change of gender or declension for the same reason; it may bring about the levelling out of two sounds to one in the tenses of a verb, usually the so-called irregulars, where unfettered phonetical development had led consistently to two different vowels or consonants.

It will thus be seen that the constant tendency of phonetical development is to increase differences, whereas the tendency of analogy is to introduce similarity again.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE CONSONANTS

§ 16. We can now pass on to a consideration of the development of the individual sounds from Indo-Germanic to High German. In an introductory course like the present clearness has been considered the first essential, and space of course only permits the barest outline. It has been considered advisable, contrary to the general custom, to begin with a history of the consonants, because the student who is grappling with historical grammar for the first time can there see more tangible evidence of evolution to arouse his interest.

The Indo-Germanic parent language possessed the following consonants :

	Labial.	Dental.	Palatal.	Pure Velar.	Labialized Velar.
Voiceless stops	p	t	$\hat{k}$	q	q^{u}
Voiced stops	b	d	$\hat{g}$	g	g^{u}
Aspirated voiceless stops	ph	th	$\hat{k}$h	qh	q^{u}h
Aspirated voiced stops	bh	dh	$\hat{g}$h	gh	g^{u}h
Voiceless spirants		s			
Voiced spirants		z			
Nasals	m	n	ŋ		
Liquids		l, r			
Sonants as consonants	w (u̯)		j (i̯)		

In Indo-Germanic, it will be observed, there were two kinds of velars : pure and labialized (i.e. with lip rounding). In Germanic the pure velars fell together with the palatals ; in this short survey, however, no examples will be given either of them or of the labialized velars beyond the occasional references in the notes.[1]

[1] It is of interest in this respect to note the history of *four* and *five* : Idg. **peŋqᵘe* > pre-Germanic **pempe* (Goth. *fimf*, OHG. *fimf*, *finf*), the

§ 17. **From Indo-Germanic to Germanic.**—The Germanic sound-shifting, in the history of German, the first sound-shifting, usually termed Grimm's Law, refers to the changes which the Indo-Germanic stops underwent in Germanic.[1]

1. The Idg. voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, and aspirated voiceless stops *ph*, *th*, *kh*,[2] > in Germanic the voiceless spirants *f*, þ, χ, i.e. the voiceless stops and the aspirated voiceless stops fell together and developed into the same sounds. The history was probably as follows: the unaspirated stops became aspirated, and the aspiration then led further to affrication or the development of the corresponding spirant sound, and from that affricate finally to the simple spirant element (e.g. *p* > *ph* > *pf* > *f*), etc. Examples:

p Lat. *pēs*, OE. *fōt* (Gk. *πούς*).
Lat. *pater*, OE. *fæder* (Skr. *pitár-*, Gk. *πατήρ*).
t Lat. *trēs*, OE. *þrī* (Skr. *tráyas*, Gk. *τρεῖς*).
Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *brōþar* (Skr. *bhrátar-*, Gk. *φράτωρ*).
k Lat. *canis*, OE. *hund* (Gk. *κύων*).
Lat. *centum*, Goth. *hund* (Skr. *śatám*, Gk. *ἑκατόν*).

ph Gk. *γράφω* (I write, scratch), OE. *ceorfan* (to cut, carve).
th Gk. *ἀ-σκηθής* (unhurt), Goth. *ska]þjan* (to hurt).
kh Gk. *ἄχνη* (chaff), Goth. *ahana* (chaff).

---

*q*ᵘ becoming *p* by assimilation, the place of articulation being changed to a labial position through the influence of the labial element. Note in this respect Latin, which assimilates the other way: *quīnque* for older **pīnque*.

Idg. **q*ᵘ*etwor* gives pre-Germanic **petwōr* (Goth. *fidwōr*, OHG. *fior*); *q*ᵘ > *p* influenced by the initial sound of five as well as possibly the labial *w*. Cf. on the other hand Lat. *quatuor*, Lith. *keturì*.

[1] Sanskrit retains the most perfectly the original Indo-Germanic consonants, Greek the vowels. In the following examples, Latin words will be taken wherever suitable and Old English or Gothic forms will be quoted for Germanic, since they retained the consonants which underwent further change for Old High German in the second sound-shifting.

[2] The aspirated voiceless stops were of rare occurrence in original Indo-Germanic. In Latin and Greek the voiced aspirated stops *bh*, *dh*, *th*, fall together with them, so that

Idg.	Lat.	Gk.
ph, *bh*,	both > *f* initially, *b* medially.	*φ*
th, *dh*,	both > *f* initially, *b* or *d* medially.	*θ*
kh, *gh*,	both > *h*, *g* or *f* in different positions.	*χ*

p, *t*, *k* and *b*, *d*, *g* generally remained in Latin and Greek.

2. The Indo-Germanic voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g* > the Germanic voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*. Examples:

b Lat. *turba*, OE. *þorp* (Gk. *τύρβη*).
Lith. *dubùs*, OF. *dēop*.
d O.Lat. *dacruma*, OE. *teagor*[1] (Gk. *δάκρυ*).
Lat. *decem*, Goth. *taíhun* (Gk. *δέκα*, OE. *tȳn*, NE. *ten*).
g Lat. *ager*, Goth. *akrs* (Gk. *ἀγρός*).
Lat. *egō*, OE. *ic* (Gk. *ἐγώ*).

3. The Indo-Germanic aspirated voiced stops *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, became first of all the voiced spirants ƀ, đ, ǥ. Medially after their corresponding nasals they then became, already in primitive Germanic, the voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*. (Likewise, but later, in the other positions: see § 21.) Examples:

bh Skr. *bhárāmi*, Goth. *baíran* (Gk. *φέρω*, Lat. *fero*).
Skr. *bhrā́tar-*, Goth. *brōþar* (Gk. *φράτωρ*, Lat. *frāter*).
dh Skr. *dhā-*, OE. *dǣd* (Gk. *τί-θημι*, Lat. *facio*).
Skr. *mádhyas*, Goth. *midjis* (Gk. **μεθjοσ*, Lat. *medius*).
gh Skr. *stighnōti*, Goth. *steigan* (Gk. *στείχω*, Lat. *vestigium*).
Gk. *χόρτος*, OE. *geard*, NE. *yard*, NHG. *Garten*[2] (Lat. *hortus*).

§ 18. The great exception to the working of Grimm's Law is a consistent exception and, named after its discoverer, is called Verner's Law. When, medially and finally, according to the original Indo-Germanic system of pitch accentuation, the sonant immediately preceding the voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, did not bear the principal accent of the word, then the voiceless spirants *f*, þ, χ, arising from the stops, developed still further, to the voiced spirants ƀ, đ, ǥ.[3]

The voiced spirants thus arising developed in the Germanic languages in the same way, of course, as the voiced spirants which had arisen from Idg. *bh*, *dh*, *gh* (see § 17. 3, and § 21).

[1] There are plenty of simpler instances that will occur to the mind at once, but this, having been previously mentioned, is here included to show that the apparently dissimilar Eng. *tear* and Fr. *larme* are originally the same word (O.Fr. *lairme*, Lat. *lacrima*, *lacruma* from older *dacruma*).

[2] The cognate in Gothic is *gards*, meaning house, in Old Bulgarian *gradŭ*, Modern Russian *gorod*, meaning town (cf. the newly formed name of Petrograd). NE. *garden* comes into English via Old French *gardin*, which is a loan-word from Old Franconian *gardin*.

[3] This law applies also to the spirant *s* which became voiced in Germanic to *z*, which in West Germanic became *r* (see § 20). See note 1, p. 36, for examples.

Skr. *saptá*, Gmc. **sefán*, **seƀán*, Goth. *sibun* (Gk. ἑπτά, Lat. *septem*).
Skr. *limpámi*, Gmc. **bilīfó*, **bilīƀó*, Goth. *bileiba* (NHG. *bleiben*).
Skr. *šatám*, Gmc. **χunþán*, **χundán*, OE. *hund* (Gk. ἑκατόν, Lat. *centum*).
Skr. *pitár-*, Gmc. **faþḗr*, **faðḗr*, Goth. *fadar* (Gk. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*).
Skr. *švašrú*, Gmc. **sụ̂eχrú*, **sụ̂egrú*, OE. *sweger*, OHG. *swigar* (Gk. ἑκυρά).
Skr. *dašát-*, Gmc. **teχús*, **tegús*, OE. *tig* (Gk. δεκάς).[1]

§ 19. Discussion of the above sounds in particular combinations and of the other consonants must be left to larger works. A word must, however, be included here on the treatment of final consonants, since that forms an important preface to the treatment of final vowels (see § 29).

1. The dental stops, with a few exceptions, disappeared in the final position:

Latin *velit*, Gothic *wili*
Latin *quod*, Gothic *ƕa*.

2. The nasals, except in monosyllabic words, also disappeared when final:

Latin *lupum*, Gothic *wulf*.
Latin *jugum*, Gothic *juk*.

[1] The results of this law appear very clearly in OHG. in the inflexion of the preterite of strong verbs. Originally, in the singular the root was accented, in the plural the ending, so that we get in OHG.:

	Inf.	Pret. sing.	Pret. pl.	Past part.
f-b	*heffen*	*huof*	*huobun*	*gihaban*
d-t	*snīdan*	*sneid*	*snitun*	*gisnitan*
h-g	*ziohan*	*zōh*	*zugun*	*gizogan*
s-r	*kiosan*	*kōs*	*kurun*	*gikoran*

In modern German the consonant of the plural has been adopted by analogy in the singular of the preterite, but the distinction is still to be seen in some verbs between the infinitive stem and the preterite, e.g.:

schneiden, schnitt, geschnitten.
ziehen, zog, gezogen.
kiesen, kor, gekoren.

We can now take examples for the last note, the interchange of *s* and *z* (*> r*): *kiosan*, *kōs*, *kurun* is one instance. Cf. Eng. *was* and *were* (OHG. *wēsan—was—wārun—giwēsan*). Note also *verloren* and *Verlust* (*verlieren* gets its *r* by analogy from *verloren*, OHG. *verliosan*); cf. Eng. *lose* and *forlorn*.

§ 20. Before passing on to the second or High German sound-shifting the following **changes common within all West-Germanic** may be noted:

1. Primitive Germanic đ > *d*. Prim. Gmc. **đagaz*, OE. *dæg*.

2. All single consonants except *r* were doubled after a short vowel before a following *j*. This *j* was mostly dropped already in OE. and OHG. but is retained in Old Saxon:

Goth. *saljan*, OS. *sellian*, OE. *sellan*, OHG. *sellen* (to give up).

The double consonants *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, *pp*, *tt*, *kk* thus arising were subject to further change for OHG. (see § 21).

3. Consonants were also doubled before a following *n* in the weak declension of nouns: nom. sing. **knaƀō* beside gen. pl. *knabbnōn*. This is the origin of the two forms of one word which occasionally exist, with differentiated meaning of course, in NHG.: *Knabe* and *Knappe*, *Rabe* and *Rappe*.

4. Primitive Germanic *z* from *s* (see note 3, p. 35, note 1, p. 36) > *r* medially and was dropped finally:

Goth. *máiza*, OE. *māra*, OHG. *mēro*.
Goth. *dags* from **dagaz*, OE. *dæg*, OHG. *tag*.

§ 21. **West-Germanic to Old High German.**—The great distinguishing feature between High German and the other West-Germanic languages is the general shifting of certain consonants known as the second or High German sound-shifting. As regards this change there are great variations within the dialects of High German itself. The consonants affected in nearly all the dialects were the voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*. The voiced stops, the voiced and voiceless spirants, underwent by no means such consistent changes.

The voiceless stops became in OHG:

1. Medially or finally after vowels, the voiceless double spirants ff, zz, hh:

OE. *open*, OHG. *offan*.
OE. *wǣpan*, OHG. *wāffan*.[1]
OE. *etan*, OHG. *ëzzan*.

[1] So that *Waffen* exists in its High German form along with the Low German *Wappen* (cf. Eng. *weapon*) in the literary language.

OE. *wæter*, OHG. *wazzar*.
OE. *sprecan*, OHG. *sprëhhan*.
OE. *wacian*, OHG. *wahhōn*.

2. Initially, medially or finally after consonants and, when doubled, the corresponding affricates *pf*, *ts* (*z*), *kχ* (*ch*):

OE. *pund*, OHG. *pfunt*.
OE. *weorpan*, OHG. *wërpfan*.[1]
OE. *tunge*, OHG. *zunga*.
OE. *tȳn*, OHG. *zëhan*.
OE. *cnēo*, OHG. *knio*, in Alemannic *chneo*.
OE. *cealf*, OHG. *kalb*, in Alemannic *chalp*.

The changes under (1), excluding a few words in Middle Franconian, extended over the whole High German territory so that they may be regarded along with the change under (2) of *t* to *ts* (*z*) as an essential sign of High German for purposes of classification. Usually, however, it is the last-mentioned change, *t*>*ts* (*z*), which, extending also over the whole High German territory, is regarded as the dividing sign between High German and Low German (see note 1, p. 14). The change *kχ* (*ch*) is the least widespread, confined to Bavarian and Alemannic.

Of the voiced stops:

b remains as in *bëran*, *bintan*.
bb>generally *pp*.[2] Cf. Eng. *rib*, *sib*, with *Rippe*, *Sippe*.
d>*t*: OE. *dohtor*, *dēad*, OHG. *tohter*, *tōt* (*dd*>*tt*: OE. *biddan*, OHG. *bitten*).
g remains as in *lang*, *engi*.
gg>*ck*.[3] In Eng. *gg* became *dg*, so cf. *bridge* and *Brücke*, *ridge* and *Rücken*.

Of the voiced spirants:

b>generally *b*, as in *sibun*, *gëban*.
g>generally *g*, as in *gëban*, *stīgan*.
d already in West Germanic had become *d* (see § 20), and this developed as *d* above: OE. *dæg*, OHG. *tag*.

[1] In the combinations *rpf* and *lpf* the *pf* already in the ninth century travelled further to *f* so that: *wërpfan*>*wërfan*; cf. *hëlpfan*>*hëlfan*.
[2] So that words with *bb* are of Low German origin: *Ebbe*, *Robbe*.
[3] So that words with *gg* are of Low German origin: *Dogge*, *Flagge*.

Of the voiceless spirants:

f remains as in *fuoz*, *fater*.

þ>ð>*d*,[1] as Gothic *brōþar*, early OHG. *bruoðer*, OHG. *bruoder*.

χ already in prim. Germanic had become initially *h*: OHG. *hunt* (see further § 22).

§ 22. The more important changes from **OHG. to MHG. and NHG.** may conveniently be taken together.

1. Final stops became voiceless: MHG. *gëben* and *gap*, *tages* and *tac*.

2. The velar spirant χ, a weakened sound already in OHG. (see § 21), was further weakened from OHG. to MHG. and then again from MHG. to NHG.:

(*a*) Between vowels already in MHG. it had become a laryngeal sound, and this in NHG. disappears entirely in pronunciation, though the *h* spelling, retained, is looked upon as the sign of a long vowel and often then is introduced into words for that purpose. MHG. *stahel*, NHG. *Stahl*, MHG. *sëhen*, NHG. *sehen*, and then by analogy MHG. *jār*, NHG. *Jahr*, MHG. *sun*, NHG. *Sohn*.

(*b*) When final after vowels, and also before *t*, the spirant value was retained in MHG. and has only been lost in NHG. by analogy: cf. *hoch* and *höher*, *nach* and *nahe*, *Gesicht* and *sehen*; but MHG. *sach*, NHG. *sah* after the plural *sahen*.

3. A new sound in Middle High German is the ʃ sound developed out of the OHG. palatal *s*, first of all in the combination *sk*: OHG. *scrīban*, MHG. *schrīben*; and in later MHG. also in combinations *sl*, *sm*, *sn*, *sw*, *st*, *sp*: MHG. *slahen*, *snīden*, *swester*; LMHG. *schlahen*, *schnīden*, *schwester*.

Allied with this is the change of *rs* to *rsch* medially and finally: MHG. *kirse*, *bars*; LMHG. *kirsche*, *barsch*.

[1] In a few cases this *d* arising from þ was hardened to *t*; Goth. *þūsundi*, OHG. *dūsunt*, *tūsunt*; MHG. *tūsent*. In a few words too þw occurred initially and had a peculiar development, becoming OHG. *dw* regularly, but then>*tw* and in LMHG. >*zw*: OHG. *dwingan*, *dwërah*; MHG. *twingen*, *twërch*; NHG. *zwingen*, *Zwerchfell*. In Low German this *tw*>*kw* (*qu*), and corresponding forms to *zwingen* and *zwerch* are *quengeln* and *quer*.

4. Middle High German *w* (*u*) has often been lost in the oblique cases by analogy with the nominative, where the final *w*>*u*, *o* in OHG. Cf. NE. *snow*, MHG. *snēwes* (gen.), but *snē*<OHG. *snēo* (nom.), NHG. *Schnee*. After *l* and *r* it has developed into the bi-labial voiced stop *b*: MHG. *swalwe, gëlwer*, NHG. *Schwalbe, gelb*.

5. *ft* became on Low German territory *cht*, that is, the labial spirant gave way to the velar spirant and a number of these words are in the literary German Wortschatz: *echt* from *ēhaft*, *Nichte* beside *Neffe*, *Gerücht* connected with *rufen*, and with *sacht*[1] and *sanft* we have the two forms, Low and High, existing side by side.

6. MHG. *mb* became *mm* by assimilation: MHG. *lamb, zimber*, NHG. *Lamm, Zimmer*. Cf. Eng. *lamb, timber*.

7. The *r* sound now used in ordinary conversation is pronounced with the uvula and not with the tongue. Its origin was probably due to the imitation of its pronunciation in France, where it arose about the middle of the seventeenth century.

8. A *t* (d) has often been developed after a final *n, s, ch, f*: MHG. *nieman, habech*>*niemant, habecht*, NHG. *niemand, Habicht*; occasionally too medially: *entlang, entzwei, eigentlich*, etc.

9. In MHG. a medial *g* often disappeared, *igi* and *ege* (*üge*) contracting to *ī* and *ei*, and several such forms have survived in NHG.: MHG. *getregede, maget, vertagedingen*, NHG. *Getreide, Maid* (poetical), *verteidigen*.

(The initial capitals of German nouns arose in the sixteenth century, being an extension of their use with proper names, *Gott* and *Herr* and titles.)

[1] For the loss of the *n* in the Low German form cf. the English cognate *soft* (similarly Eng. *five* beside German *fünf*).

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE SONANTS

§ 23. The following was the Indo-Germanic sonantal system:

Short vowels a, e, i, o, u, ə.
Long vowels ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.
Short diphthongs ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou.
Long diphthongs āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu.
Short sonant l̥, m̥, n̥, r̥.

The long diphthongs rarely occurred and are included here only to have the list complete. They will be no further discussed.

§ 24. From **Indo-Germanic to Germanic** the following changes took place—

Of the vowels:

o > *a* Lat. *octō*, Goth. *ahtáu*.
ə > *a* Idg. **pətér* (Skr. *pitár-*, Gk. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*). Goth. *fadar*.
ā > *ō* Lat. *māter*, OE. *mōdor*.
ē > *ǣ* Lat. *ēdimus*, Gmc. **ǣt-*.

The others, *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, remain. Examples:

a Lat. *ager*, Goth. *akrs*.
e Lat. *edō*, OE. *etan*.
i Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*.
u Gk. *κύων*, OE. *hund*.
ī Lat. *sīmus*, OHG. *sīm*.
ō Gk. Aeolic *πώς*, OE. *fōt*.
ū Lat. *mūs*, OE. *mūs* (*mouse*).

Of the diphthongs:

ei > *ī* Gk. στείχω, OE. *stīgan* (NHG. *steigen*).
oi > *ai* Gk. οἶδε, Goth. *wait* (NHG. *weiß*).
ou > *au* Idg. **roudhos*, Goth. *ráuþs* (NHG. *rot*).

The others, *ai*, *au*, *eu*, remain. Examples:

ai Gk. αἰών,[1] Goth. *áiws*.
au Lat. *auris*, Goth. *áusō* (NHG. *Ohr*).
eu Gk. γεύω, Gmc. **keusō* (NE. *choose*, NHG. *kiesen*).

Of the sonants:

m̥ > *um* Idg. **km̥tom* (*m̥* becoming *n* by assimilation), Lat. *centum*, Goth. *hund*.
n̥ > *un* Idg. **dn̥t-*, Lat. *dentem* (acc.), Goth. *tunþus* (*tooth*).
r̥ > *ur* Idg. **pr̥t-*, Lat. *portus*, *porta*, OHG. *furt*, NHG. *Furt*, NE. *ford*.
l̥ > *ul* Idg. **wl̥q*ʷ*os*, Goth. *wulfs*.

§ 25. **Germanic to West Germanic.**

With the above changes operating the sonantal system in Primitive Germanic will therefore be reduced to:

Short vowels a, e, i, u.
Long vowels ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū.
Diphthongs ai, au, eu.

The *ē* is of special origin (< Idg. long diphthong *ēi*) and represents a close sound. Idg. *ē*, it will be remembered (§ 24), became ǣ, representing an open sound.

Changes 1 and 2 occurred within the primitive Germanic period and appear equally in East and North as well as West Germanic:

1. Short *a*, *i*, or *u*, before the combination ŋχ > West Germanic *ą̄χ*, *ę̄χ*, *ǭχ*, which became further in OHG. *āχ*, *ēχ*, *ōχ*. The working of this process is seen in such forms as NHG. *denken*, *dachte*; *dünken*, *däuchte*; *bringen*, *brachte*. OHG. *denken*, *dāhta* < Gmc. root **þaŋχ-*. In accented syllables this is the only source of *ā* for Germanic.

2. *e* > *i*

(*a*) Before a nasal + consonant: Lat. *ventus*, OHG. *wint*.

[1] Older Greek *αἰϝών*, Lat. *aevum*, OHG. *ēwa* (NHG. in *ewig*).

(*b*) When followed by an *i* or *j* Gk. ἔστι, OHG. *ist*. This sound-law explains the difference of the stem vowels in pairs like NHG. *Erde* (OHG. *ërda*) and *irdisch* (OHG. *irdisc*); *Berg* and *Gebirge*; *Feld* and *Gefilde*; *geben* and *Gift*; *Wetter* and *Gewitter*; *helfen* and *hilft*; *geben* and *gibt*. This is the so-called breaking or *Brechung* of *e*.

Changes 3 and 4 appear only in North and West Germanic.

3. *i* followed originally by *ă*, *ŏ*, or *ē* became *e* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*: Lat. *vir* (from **wiros*), OHG. *wer* (cf. Eng. *werewolf* and G. *Wehrgeld*).

4. *u* followed originally by *ă*, *ŏ*, or *ē* became *o* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*: Gk. λύκος, Gmc. **wulfaz*, Goth. *Wulfs*, OHG. *wolf*.

This is the source of every Germanic *o* in accented syllables; and this sound-law accounts for the different stem vowels in pairs like NHG. *Gold* and *gülden* (OHG. *guldīn*), *dorren* and *dürr* (OHG. *durrī*), *Tor* and *Tür*, *voll* and *Fülle*, *vor* and *für*.

The West Germanic sonantal system is therefore:

Short vowels a, e, i, o, u.
Long vowels ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū, ą̄, į̄, ų̄.
Diphthongs ai, au, eu (iu, eo).

§ 26. West Germanic to Old High German.

The vowels in accented and unaccented syllables must now be considered separately (see § 5. 2).

A. *In accented syllables:*

a > *e* (the first beginnings of the umlaut process) when originally followed by an *i* or *j* in the next syllable: *faran*, *ferit*; *gast*, *gesti*, except when the *a* was followed by *ht*, *hs*, or consonant + *w*: *maht*, *mahti*.

e > *i* when followed by *u*: *hilfu*, *nimu*, *gibu*,[1] from *hëlfan*, *nëman*, *gëban*.[1]

ǣ > already in West Germanic *ā*: Gmc. **ǣt-*, OHG. *āzum*.

[1] Germanic *e* is written *ë* to distinguish it from the *e* which arose from the first umlaut of *a*.

ē > *ea* > *ia* > *ie*: OE. *hēr*, OHG. *hēr*, *hear*, *hiar*, *hier*.
ō > *oa* > *ua* > *uo*: OE. *fōt*, OHG. *fuoz*.
ai 1 (before *r*, *h*, *w*, and when final) > *æ* > *ē*: Goth. *máiza*, OHG. *mēro*.
2 (in all other cases) > *ei*: Goth. *stáins*, OHG. *stein*.
au 1 (before *h*, all dentals, and when final) > *ao* > *ō*: Goth. *dáuþus*, OHG. *tōd*.
2 (before other consonants) > *ou*: Goth. *áugō*, OHG. *ouga*.
eu 1 (when followed originally by *i*, *j*, or *u*) > *iu*: Gmc. **leuhtjan*, OHG. *liuhten*.
2 (in all other cases) > *eo* > *io*: Gmc. **leuha*þ, OHG. *lioht*.

a and *e*, except in the positions discussed above, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, remained. Examples:

a: Goth. *akrs*, OHG. *ackar*.
e:[1] OE. *etan*, OHG. *ëzzan*.
i: Goth. *winds*, OHG. *wint*.
o: OE. *dohtor*, OHG. *tohter*.
u: Goth. *sunus*, OHG. *sunu*.
ā (from *ą̄*): Goth. *þāhta*, OHG. *dāhta*.
ī: OE. *swīn*, OHG. *swīn*.
ū: Goth. *þūsundi*, OHG. *dūsunt*.

The Old High German sonantal system is therefore:

Short vowels a, e, ë, i, o, u.
Long vowels ā, ē, , ī, ō, ū.
Diphthongs ei, ia (ie), io, iu, ou, uo.

§ 27. Old High German to Middle High German.

Apart from certain minor changes, all the vowel changes from OHG. to MHG. were the result of umlaut (palatalization or modification). The vowel of the accented syllable is influenced by the *i* or *j* of the following syllable. The first vowel to undergo this change was *a*, already in OHG. in some positions (see § 26). The change first occurs about the middle of the eighth century, and is complete, in those positions, in the ninth century. From the twelfth century

[1] In a few words *ē* > *o* when preceded by *w*. Cf. Eng. *well*, *week*, with NHG. *wohl*, *Woche* (OHG. *wola*, *wocha*, from older *wëla*, *wëcha*).

onwards the *a* begins to be umlauted also in the words containing those consonant combinations which had prevented the umlaut from operating in OHG. This later modified *a* is written *ä*: OHG. *mahti*, MHG. *mähte*. The other vowels and diphthongs which underwent umlaut from OHG. to MHG. are *o*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, *ou*, *uo*. Examples:

o > *ö*: OHG. *mohti*, MHG. *möhte*.
u[1] > *ü*: OHG. *dunni*, MHG. *dünne*.
ā > *æ*: OHG. *lāri*, MHG. *lære*.
ō > *œ*: OHG. *scōni*, MHG. *schœne*.
ū > *iu* (written *iu*, see below): OHG. *hūti*, MHG. *hiute*.
ou > *öu*: OHG. *loubir*, MHG. *löuber*.
uo > *üe*: OHG. *guoti*, MHG. *güete*.

Apart from these umlaut changes the vowels, as remarked, generally remained. Examples:

a: OHG. *ackar*, MHG. *acker*.
e: OHG. *gesti*, MHG. *geste*.
ë: OHG. *ëzzan*, MHG. *ëzzen*.
i: OHG. *wizzan*, MHG. *wizzen*.
o: OHG. *tohter*, MHG. *tohter*.
u: OHG. *sunu*, MHG. *sun*.
ā: OHG. *dāhta*, MHG. *dāhte*.
ē: OHG. *ēra*, MHG. *ēre*.
ī: OHG. *scrīban*, MHG. *schrīben*.
ō: OHG. *ōra*, MHG. *ōre*.
ū: OHG. *dūsunt*, MHG. *tūsent*.
ei: OHG. *screib*, MHG. *schreip*.
ie: OHG. *gieng*, MHG. *gienc*.
ou: OHG. *ouga*, MHG. *ouge*.
uo: OHG. *bruoder*, MHG. *bruoder*.

Except:

io which became *ie*: OHG. *liob*, MHG. *liep*.

[1] In Upper German before certain consonant combinations *u* was not modified, e.g. before liquid + consonant, nasal + consonant, and *gg*, *ck*, *pf*, *tz*. Some forms of this type occur in the literary language, and sometimes both the unmodified Upper German form and the modified Middle German form have persisted: NHG. *schuldig*, *geduldig*, OHG. *sculdīg*, *gidultīg*, and cf. *drucken*, *nutzen*, *gulden*, with *drücken*, *nützen*, *gülden*.

iu[1] contracted to long modified *ū*, but the *iu* was retained as the written symbol and was used also for the *ū* umlauted (see above), *ü* being the symbol only for the short modified *u*: OHG. *liuhten*, MHG. *liuhten*.

The sonantal system in Middle High German was therefore:

Short vowels a, e, ä, ë, i, o, u, ö, ü.
Long vowels ā, ē, æ, ī, ō, ū, œ, iu.
Diphthongs ei, ie, ou, uo, öu (eu), üe.

§ 28. **From Middle High German to New High German.**

I. The short vowels in close syllables have for the most part remained short, whilst in open syllables they have mostly been lengthened.[2]

(*a*) In open syllables. When followed by a voiced stop, a liquid, a nasal, *f* or *s*, the short vowels have generally been lengthened. Examples:

a: MHG. *ăber*, NHG. *āber*.
ä: MHG. *zĕln*, NHG. *zāhlen*.
e: MHG. *lĕgen*, NHG. *lēgen*.
ë: MHG. *gëben*, NHG. *gēben*.
i: MHG. *sĭben*, NHG. *sieben*.
o: MHG. *ŏder*, NHG. *ōder*.
u: MHG. *stŭbe*, NHG. *Stūbe*.
ö: MHG. *hövesch*, NHG. *hōfisch*.
ü: MHG. *vŭr*, NHG. *fūr*.

This lengthening did not, however, occur where in the next syllable was the suffix *el*, *en*, or *er*, the *l*, *n*, *r*, being used sonantally; nor, with a few exceptions, when followed by a *t*. Examples:

el: MHG. *himel*, NHG. *Himmel* [himḷ].
en: MHG. *komen*, NHG. *kommen* [komn̥].

[1] In Bavarian, Swabian, and East Franconian, however, *iu* is retained as a diphthong during the middle period, except when an *i* or *j* occurred in the next syllable; later, this diphthong, like long modified *ū* (see § 28. II), generally became *eu* (*öu*): *hiute* > *heute*.

[2] Hence, the North German pronunciation of *Glăs*, *Glāses*, *Tăg*, *Tāges*; hence, *nimmt* beside *nehmen*, *gibt* beside *geben*. Note MHG. *ich hăbe*, *wir hăben* > NHG. *ich hābe*, *wir hāben*; whilst the shortening of the long vowels (see under long vowels in the text) gives from MHG. *hāst*, *hāt*, NHG. *hăst*, *hăt* (see § 58).

er: MHG. *somer*, NHG. *Sommer* [zomr̥].
t: MHG. *site*, NHG. *Sitte* [zitə].

The modern spellings *mm*, *nn*, *tt*, do not, of course, stand for a double sound. In MHG. double (long) consonants did occur (that is, there was a long sound as with Italian double consonants) as in *stimme*, *sonne* (<*sunne*), and in such cases the vowels were in a closed syllable and therefore remained short (see below). When the pronunciation of the double consonants was simplified, the old spelling was retained and the association of a double consonant spelling with a short vowel passed by analogy to words which originally did not possess the long consonant sound: MHG. *himel*, *doner*, *site*; NHG. *Himmel*, *Donner*, *Sitte*.

(*b*) In closed syllables:

a remained: MHG. *acht*, NHG. *acht*.
e[1] became open instead of close (written *e* or *ä* in NHG.): MHG. *denken*, *geste* [denkən, gestə], NHG. *denken*, *Gäste* [dɛnkn̥, gɛstə].
ä,[2] in MHG. a very open sound, falls together with *e*: MHG. *mähte*, NHG. *Mächte*.
ë[3] remained: MHG. *ezzen*, NHG. *essen*.
i[4] remained: MHG. *wizzen*, NHG. *wissen*.
o remained: MHG. *tohter*, NHG. *Tochter*.
u remained: MHG. *hunt*, NHG. *Hund*.

Already in the twelfth century in Middle German *u* before nasals > *o* as *from*, *son*, beside MHG. *frum*, *sun*; and in NHG. *u* has frequently become *o* before *nn*, *mm*, and sometimes *n* + consonant:

[1] Already in the fourteenth century in Alemannic this *e* (but not *ä* or *ë*) in the neighbourhood of labials, became rounded to *ö*, and later it occurs in the neighbourhood of *l* and *sch* and in one or two other words. Several such forms are to be found in the NHG. literary language: *ergötzen*, *erlöschen*, *zwölf*, *Schöpfer*, *Hölle*, *Löwe*, beside MHG. *ergetzen*, *erleschen*, *zwelf*, *scepære*, *helle*, *lewe*.

[2] *ä* arises as a symbol from *å*, which was first used in Swabian, in works printed at Augsburg, Basle, and Zürich.

[3] MHG. poets do not rhyme *ë* and *e*; *e* was a close sound, *ë* was open, and with it *ä* generally becomes identified, though Bavarian and Alemannic distinguished the three sounds in the middle period, and even to-day Bavarian dialects distinguish between *ä* and *ë*. For NHG. the tendency is to identify open *ä* and close *e*, though a distinction is still made by many.

[4] A few words have *ü* for older *i* (cf. for the rounding process note 1):
MHG. *flistern*, *wirde*.
NHG. *flüstern*, *Würde*.

MHG. *begunnen, sunne, sunder, geswummen, sumer.*
NHG. *begonnen, Sonne, sonder, geschwommen, Sommer.*

ö remained: MHG. *töhter*, NHG. *Töchter.*

ü[1] remained generally: MHG. *dünne*, NHG. *dünn.*

ü before nasals was changed to *ö*, in a corresponding way to *u* (see above). Examples:

MHG. *künnen*, NHG. *können.*
MHG. *münech*, NHG. *Mönch.*

II. The long vowels.

Of the long vowels three changed, becoming diphthongs:

ī > *ai* (the symbol in NHG. is usually *ei*):

MHG. *dīn*, NHG. *dein* [dain].
MHG. *scrīben*, NHG. *schreiben* [ʃraibən].

ū > *au*: MHG. *ūf*, NHG. *auf.*
MHG. *hūs*, NHG. *Haus.*

iu (symbol for *ī̈* sound) > *oi* (written in NHG. either *äu* or *eu*):

MHG. *liute*, NHG. *Leute.*
MHG. *hiute*, NHG. *Häute.*

The other five long vowels generally remained. Examples:

ā:[2] MHG. *abend*, NHG. *Abend.*

æ, which was an open sound, became written *ä*: MHG. *spæte*, NHG. *spät.*

ē: MHG. *sē, sēr*, NHG. *See, sehr.*

ō: MHG. *grōz, ōre*, NHG. *groß, Ohr.*

œ, now written *ö*, without distinction therefore in orthography from the short modified *o*: MHG. *schœne*, NHG. *schön.*

The main corollary to the above remark, "the other five long vowels generally remained," is that they, and also the NHG.

[1] In Bavarian, Swabian, and Middle German, there was a tendency to unround *ü* to *i* already in the thirteenth century, and several such words have passed into the literary language: NHG. *Kissen, Findling*, MHG. *küssen, fündling.*

[2] In Middle German, in Bavarian, and partly in Alemannic, in the second half of the thirteenth century *ā* > *ō* and several words of this type occur in the NHG. literary language, especially when followed by a nasal or preceded by *w*: NHG. *ohne, wo, Woge, Mond, Argwohn*, MHG. *āne, wā, wāc, māne, arcwān.*

vowels *ie*, *ū*, and *ǖ* (from the MHG. diphthongs) have sometimes been shortened. Examples:

Cf. NHG. *Hochzeit* beside *hoch.*
NHG. *Herzog* beside *Heer.*
MHG. *brāhte*, NHG. *brachte.*
MHG. *dāhte*, NHG. *dachte.*

III. The diphthongs.

Of the diphthongs, *ie*, *uo*, *üe*, have changed, becoming monophthongs:

ie > *ī* (still always written ie):

MHG. *tief* [tief], NHG. *tief* [ti:f].
MHG. *liep* [liep], NHG. *lieb* [li:p].

uo > *ū*: MHG. *guot*, *fuoz*, *huon*, NHG. *gut*, *Fuß*, *Huhn.*
üe > *ǖ*: MHG. *füeze*, *grüezen*, *füeren*, NHG. *Füße*, *grüßen*, *führen.*

The other three remained as diphthongs, changing as follows:

ei > *ai* (symbol generally ei): MHG. *ein* [ein], NHG. *ein* ['ain].
ou > *au*: MHG. *ouge*, NHG. *Auge.*
öu (*eu*) > *oi* (symbol äu or eu): MHG. *böume*, *fröude*, NHG. *Bäume*, *Freude.*

§ 29. B. *In unaccented syllables.*

The vowels before the final consonants, *m*, *n*, *t*, *d*, had become final vowels already in primitive Germanic owing to the disappearance of these consonants when final (see § 19); the tendency is then to weaken or even to disappear.

From Germanic to Old High German—

(*a*) The long vowels:

final *ō* > *u*: Gmc. **berō*, OHG. *biru.*
final *ī* > *i*: Gmc. **nāmī*, OHG. *nāmi.*

(*b*) The short vowels:

a (representing Idg. *a* and *o*), *i* (representing Idg. *e* and *i*), and *u* usually disappear. Examples.

Cf. OHG. *weiz* beside Gk. *οἶδα.*
OHG. *wort* (sg.) < Gmc. **wurta-n*, Lat. *verbum.*

OHG. *wolf* beside Gk. λύκος (Gmc. **wulfaz*).
OHG. *fimf* beside Gk. πέντε.
OHG. *gast* beside Lat. *hostis*.
OHG. *ist* beside Gk. ἔστι.
OHG. *tōd* beside Goth. *dáuþus*.

The *i* in the preterite tense and past participle of the weak verbs class 3*b* (see § 55) was syncopated after long stem syllables:

OHG. *hōrta* (from **hōrita*, Gothic *hausida*), *branta*; *gihōrtēr*, *gibrantēr*.

In the ninth century the *u* and *i* became *o* and *e*: *sunu*, *gasti* > *suno*, *geste*.

§ 30. **From Old High German to Middle High German.**

From OHG. to MHG. there is a general weakening of both short and long vowels to *e*. This weakening began early in the tenth century and was completed during the early part of the MHG. period. Examples:

OHG. *taga*, MHG. *tage*.
OHG. *nimit*, MHG. *nimet*.
OHG. *tago*, MHG. *tage*.
OHG. *nimu*, MHG. *nime*.
OHG. *gëbā*, MHG. *gëbe*.
OHG. *habēn*, MHG. *haben*.
OHG. *scōnī*, MHG. *schœne*.
OHG. *salbōn*, MHG. *salben*.
OHG. *zungūn*, MHG. *zungen*.

§ 31. This *e* sound then for the most part disappeared in MHG. after *l* and *r*:

OHG. *garo* > *gare* > *gar*.
OHG. *wola* > *wole* > *wol*.
OHG. *wandelota* > *wandelete* > *wandelte*.
OHG. *groziro* > *grœzere* > *grœzer*, and in words such as *ab*, *mit*, *im*, *dem* < *abe*, *mite*, *ime*, *deme*.

§ 32. **From Middle High German to New High German.**

The *e* was weakened to ə and was then very largely lost, particularly in the syllable which preceded or followed the one having the secondary accent (Behaghel's Law). MHG.

jüngelinc, NHG. *Jüngling*; and after a voiceless stop or spirant, liquid, or nasal: MHG. *spæte*, *lære*, *dünne*, NHG. *spät*, *leer*, *dünn*.

Note that, although the *e* is retained in writing, final *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, have become vocalic *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, *r̥*: *Handel*, *Atem*, *denken*, *Eber*.

§ 33. **Ablaut.**

Ablaut is the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix which was caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation. The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels called ablaut series. Such series appear most distinctly in the stem forms of strong verbs, but they are not, of course, restricted to verb stems. The following NHG. instances must suffice as examples apart from the strong verbs:

heiß, *Hitze*.
Büttel, *Gebiet*.
Band, *Bund*, *Binde*.
Sprache, *Spruch*, *Sprecher*.

The series in the verbs are shown in the four stem forms: present, first and third singular preterite, plural preterite (with the second sing.), and past participle[1]:

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.
I.	ī	ei, ē	i	i
II.	eo (io)	ou, ō	u	o
III.	i, ë	a	u	u, o
IV.	ë	a	ā	o
V.	ë	a	ā	ë
VI.	a	uo	uo	a

These gradations are here quoted in the OHG. forms; for their development see Chap. VII.

[1] Note particularly that these columns are not the columns of the school grammar, quoting, of the strong verbs, the infinitive, present tense, past tense, and past participle; the columns here represent the vowel of the present stem, preterite *third singular*, preterite *plural*, and past participle.

CHAPTER VI

THE NOUN

§ 34. The most potent factor in the development of the nouns was the weakening of the final syllables (see §§ 29-32). To trace that development historically the grouping must be rather different from that of the grammar of the modern language. For OHG. as for Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and the other Germanic languages in their older periods we distinguish between a vocalic and a consonantal declension. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or strong declension ; and those whose stems originally ended in a consonant to the consonantal. By far the most important division of the consonantal stems ended in *n* and this is termed the weak declension. The other consonantal stems are usually classed together as minor declensions. To be noted in particular in the history of the nouns are the following points. In evolution from OHG. to NHG. :

1. They may have changed their gender (cf. MHG. *der vane, diu witze, daz wolken*, with NHG. *die Fahne, der Witz, die Wolke*).

2. The final *n* of an oblique case may have been adopted in the nominative (MHG. *balke, garte*, NHG. *Balken, Garten*).

3. Vice versa an *n* rightly in the singular may have been dropped entirely by analogy (MHG. *daz wolken, daz wāfen*, NHG. *die Wolke, die Waffe*).

4. A new declension may have arisen (*a*) entirely new : e.g. the *Kalb* type, the *Wagen* type ; (*b*) a mixture of two : the *Tag* and *Gast* type.

5. Many have changed their declensions, due to their change in form or otherwise.[1]

§ 35. The vocalic or strong declension is divided as follows:

1. The *a* declension. Masculines and neuters only, corresponding to the Latin and Greek *o* declension: Gk. ος and ον, Lat. *us* and *um*. It is subdivided into pure *a* stems, *ja* stems, and *wa* stems. Examples: Pure *a* stems: masc. *tag*, neut. *wort*; *ja* stems: masc. *hirti*, neut. *nezzi*; *wa* stems: masc. *snē*, neut. *kneo*.

2. The *i* declension. Masculine and feminine. Examples: masc. *gast*, fem. *kraft*.

3. The *u* declension. Very few traces remain.

4. Nouns in *ī*. Feminine abstract.

5. The *ō* declension. Feminine nouns only, corresponding to the Latin and Greek long *ā* declension. Example: *klaga*.

§ 36. It is convenient from the point of view of historical development to consider the first two declensions together, as they have come to be considered in the grammar of the modern language as modified and unmodified forms of the same declension. The nouns quoted above may as well be used for types of the paradigms:

OHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Neut.	Masc.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*tag*	*wort*	*hirti*	*nezzi*	*gast*	*kraft*
Gen.	*tages*	*wortes*	*hirtes*	*nezzes*	*gastes*	*krefti*
Dat.	*tage*	*worte*	*hirte*	*nezze*	*gaste*	*krefti*
Acc.	*tag*	*wort*	*hirti*	*nezzi*	*gast*	*kraft*
Plur.						
Nom.	*taga*	*wort*	*hirta*	*nezzi*	*gesti*	*krefti*
Gen.	*tago*	*worto*	*hirto*	*nezzo*	*gesto*	*krefto*
Dat.	*tagum*	*wortum*	*hirtum*	*nezzum*	*gestim*	*kreftim*
Acc.	*taga*	*wort*	*hirta*	*nezzi*	*gesti*	*krefti*

[1] Note in this connexion nouns whose singular in NHG. represents an older plural: OHG. sing. *wāg* (m.), *zahar* (m.), *ah* (n.), plur. *wāga*, *zahari*, *ahār*; MHG. sing. *wāc*, *zaher*, *ah*, plur. *wāge*, *zähere*, *äher*; NHG. *die Woge*, *die Zähre*, *die Ähre* with a weak plural.

MHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Neut.	Masc.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	*tac*	*wort*	*hirte*	*netze*	*gast*	*kraft*
Gen.	*tages*	*wortes*	*hirtes*	*netzes*	*gastes*	*krefte, kraft*
Dat.	*tage*	*worte*	*hirte*	*netze*	*gaste*	*krefte, kraft*
Acc.	*tac*	*wort*	*hirte*	*netze*	*gast*	*kraft*
Plur.						
Nom.	*tage*	*wort*	*hirte*	*netze*	*geste*	*krefte*
Gen.	*tage*	*worte*	*hirte*	*netze*	*geste*	*krefte*
Dat	*tagen*	*worten*	*hirten*	*netzen*	*gesten*	*kreften*
Acc.	*tage*	*wort*	*hirte*	*netze*	*geste*	*krefte*

The similarity between the MHG. forms and the NHG. forms is at once apparent, particularly when one bears in mind that in NHG. the modified *a* is written *ä* and not *e* as in MHG. In MHG. the *tag* and *gast* types have become alike except for the modification, so that confusion between the two is easily understandable. In most cases words of the *tag* type have become modified, and this was already happening in MHG.: cf. the old unmodified dat. pl. in the proper names *Königshofen*, *Adelshofen*, and *in den Hofen*.[1] In very few words did *i* stems lose their umlaut, following the *a* stem type. An instance is *Lachs*, *Lachse*, from MHG. *lahs*, *lehse*.

§ 37. It is a development of the *tag* type, following phonetical laws, which has given us the new declension often termed in NHG. strong contracted. In MHG. *wagen*, *himel*, *ëber*, were declined like *tag*. The genitive singular and the nominative plural were therefore respectively *wagenes*, *himeles*, *ëberes*, and *wagene*, *himele*, *ëbere*. The *e* after the syllable with the secondary accent fell away and gave the declension as in modern German. In some cases as a distinguishing mark the umlaut was used in the plural, following the *i* stem types: *Vögel* but *Wagen*.

§ 38. The neuter *wort* type had in MHG. no ending in the nominative and accusative plural; but, starting in

[1] Place names in *hofen*, *felden*, *hausen*, *ingen*, *stetten*, and *walden*, are all old dative plural forms; the whole question of place names—and proper names—is exceedingly interesting, and the student is referred to Behaghel-Trechmann, B. chapter vi. for an introduction.

Middle German dialects, analogous formations to the *tag* type spread amongst the neuters or they took a plural ending in *er*: see § 48 (*b*). Real instances of the original uninflected plural neuter are still to be seen in NHG. in such expressions as *drei Pfund, vier Glas* (and then by analogy to masculines: *drei Fuß, sechs Zoll*; and feminines: *vier Uhr, fünf Mark*).

§ 39. Of the *ja* stems (cf. Lat. *odium*) very few remain in this declension; they are all collectives with *Ge*, with the exception of *der Küse* (MHG. *kæse*, OHG. *kāsi*, loaned from Latin *caseus*). Many neuter words really belonging to this type followed the *wort* type, e.g. *Netz, Stück, Kreuz*. Originally belonging to this type, *Bett, Ende, Hemd*, have joined with the original weak neuters to form a special mixed declension (see § 44). Some also passed over into the *er* plurals as *Bild, Gemüt*.

§ 40. Like *Kraft*; cf. *Braut, Frucht, Stadt*. A large number of this type have passed over into the weak declension: *Fahrt, Saat, Tat*, etc Note the old genitive singular in the compounds Bräutigam (<bräutegam) and bürgemeister (Bürgermeister): the man of the bride, the master of the burgh.

§ 41. Of the *u* declension which included masculines, neuters and feminines, traces are mostly to be seen in compounds which have become adverbs, e.g. *hant*, mostly declined like *kraft*, retains in OHG. the *u* in the dative plural, *hantum*. Cf. NHG. *abhanden, beihanden, vorhanden, zuhanden*. The MHG. dative singular is seen in NHG. *behende* and the MHG. genitive plural in NHG. *allerhand*.

§ 42. The fourth declension (*hōhī*) ended in the singular in *ī* or *īn* and the plural was *ī* or *īn, īno, īm*. Weak in NHG.: *die Höhe*.

§ 43. *Klage* was declined as follows:

Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*klaga*	*klage*
Gen.	*klagā*	*klage*
Dat.	*klagu*	*klage*
Acc.	*klaga*	*klage*

Plur.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*klagā*	*klage*
Gen.	*klagōno*	*klagen*
Dat.	*klagōm*	*klagen*
Acc.	*klagā*	*klage*

In NHG. most of the nouns originally belonging to this declension have gone over to the weak form (see § 46) in the plural.

§ 44. The consonantal or weak declension includes: (1) the weak declension as we understand it to-day, and (2) the minor declensions. Masc. *boto*, fem. *zunga*, neut. *hërza* are examples of 1.

OHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*boto*	*zunga*	*hërza*
Gen.	*boten*	*zungūn*	*hërzen*
Dat.	*boten*	*zungūn*	*hërzen*
Acc.	*boton*	*zungūn*	*hërza*
Plur.			
Nom.	*boton*	*zungūn*	*hërzun*
Gen.	*botōno*	*zungōno*	*hërzōno*
Dat.	*botōm*	*zungōm*	*hërzōm*
Acc.	*boton*	*zungūn*	*hërzun*

MHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*bote*	*zunge*	*hërze*
Gen.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*
Dat.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*
Acc.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërze*
Plur.			
Nom.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*
Gen.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*
Dat.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*
Acc.	*boten*	*zungen*	*hërzen*

§ 45. With *Bote* compare amongst others: *Affe*, *Ahne*, *Drache*, *Erbe*, *Falke*, *Gatte*, *Hase*, *Jude*, *Knabe*, *Löwe*. A few have lost the *e* in the nominative singular but are otherwise normal, e.g. *Bär*, *Fürst*, *Graf*, *Herr*, *Tor*. A fair number of nouns have introduced the *n* of the oblique cases into the nominative, and passed into the new declension often termed

in the modern grammar the Strong Contracted (see above), e.g. *Balken, Brunnen, Garten, Graben, Roggen, Schatten, Tropfen*; in a few of these nouns, in the nominative singular only, the *n* has not been adopted: *der Name, des Namens, der Wille, des Willens.*[1]

§ 46. A combination of the *zunge* type with the *klage* type has given us the modern feminine declension usually termed the weak feminine. Strong inflexion in the singular becomes a distinctive feature of the feminine noun after the *klage* type; and the *n* in the plural is adopted throughout, following the *zunge* type. Note reminiscences of the old genitive singular in compounds like *Erdensohn, Sonnenlicht, Frauenlist*, and of the dative singular in *auf Erden, zu Ehren.*

§ 47. Beside *hërza* there were only three other neuters belonging to this declension: *ōra, ouga, wanga.* As a modern irregular *Herz* shows most similarity to the older form, following, for NHG., words like *Balken* in taking an *s* for the genitive singular. *Auge* and *Ohr* are now strong in the singular, weak in the plural; *Wange*, becoming feminine, naturally followed *Zunge.*

§ 48. Of the minor declensions mention need only be made here of two:

(*a*) Monosyllabic stems. Few traces remain even in OHG. An instance is *man*, alike in all cases of the singular and nominative and accusative plural, gen. pl. *manno*, dat. pl. *mannum.* The old plural is seen in such phrases as *hunderttausend Mann*; the plural *Männer* is after the analogy of *Weiber, Kinder*, whilst the weak plural *Mannen*, with its special sense, arose in the fourteenth century. As a feminine instance the word *naht* merits consideration in full for interest's sake:

Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*naht*	*naht*
Gen.	*naht*	*naht, nehte*
Dat.	*naht*	*naht, nehte*
Acc.	*naht*	*naht*

[1] Some have passed over into the *Tag* type, as *Mond, Stern*; but note the old weak genitive in several compounds of *Mond*: *Mondenschein* (NHG. *Mond* < OHG. *māno* with *ō* for *ā* as note 2, p. 48, and excrescent *t* (*d*) as § 22. 8).

Plur.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*naht*	*naht, nehte*
Gen.	*nahto*	*naht, nehte*
Dat.	*nahtum*	*nahten, nehten*
Acc.	*naht*	*naht, nehte*

The umlaut forms in MHG. are, of course, after the *kraft* type. Such a modified MHG. gen. sing. form is be seen in the compound *Gänsebraten.* In *Weihnachten* we see the old dative plural (MHG. *zen wīhen nahten*). Of neuters *dorf* and *hūs* also fell under this heading, but went over already in OHG. to the *er* declension (see next paragraph). We see the old dative plural in names like *Schaffhausen, Holthausen.*

(*b*) Stems in *os, es,* corresponding to the Greek neuters in ος, the Latin in *us*: Gk. γένος, old genitive *γένεσος, Lat. *genus,* genitive *generis* from older **genesus.* Example: *kalb.*

Sing.	Early OHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*kalb*	*kalb*	*kalp*
Gen.	*kalbires*	*kalbes*	*kalbes*
Dat.	*kalbire*	*kalbe*	*kalbe*
Acc.	*kalb*	*kalb*	*kalp*
Plur.			
Nom.	*kalbir*	*kelbir*	*kelber*
Gen.	*kalbiro*	*kelbiro*	*kelber*
Dat.	*kalbirum*	*kelbirum*	*kelbern*
Acc.	*kalbir*	*kelbir*	*kelber*

The nom. sing. in Germanic would be **kalƀaz*, the nom. pl. **kalƀiza* (cf. Lat. *genera* < **genesa*); but the *ir*, originally only a stem-forming suffix, came to be looked upon as a plural ending when *kalb* was treated throughout the singular like a neuter *a*-declension noun. Only a few words belonged to this class in Germanic, but already in OHG. neuter *a* stems were already passing into it (see § 38). The few masculines that have joined it should be noted, e.g. *Gott, Wald, Wurm,* etc. (we have an old dative plural in *Unterwalden*).

CHAPTER VII

THE VERB

§ 49. In Indo-Germanic there were two classes of verbs, Athematic and Thematic. With the Athematic verbs the personal endings were added to the bare root, e.g. the present tense of *to be* was, with strong grade ablaut in the singular and weak grade in the plural[1]:

*és-mi
*és-si
*és-ti
*s-més
*s-thé
*s-énti

and of *to go*:

*éi-mi
*éi-si
*éi-ti
*i-més
*i-thé
*j-énti

Verbs of this type are usually termed, as in Greek, *mi*-verbs, owing to the ending of the first person singular. Of this type the Germanic languages have but few traces; they passed over in the primitive Germanic period into the thematic or *ō* type.

[1] Strictly, weak grade in the *dual* and plural. There was, in original Indo-Germanic, a special inflexion for two of a kind, the dual; this persists in Sanskrit, in Greek, and slightly in Gothic, but in German it is not found.

With the thematic verbs the personal endings were added not to the bare root, but were attached to it by means of a thematic vowel *e* or *o* (hence the name). The stem vowel remained unchanged in the present and could have either the strong or weak grade of ablaut. The present of *to 'take* would be:

**némō*
**ném-e-si*
**ném-e-ti*
**ném-o-mes*
**ném-e-the*
**ném-o-nti*

§ 50. In all the Germanic languages the verbs are divided into two main divisions: strong and weak, thus named by Grimm because the former make their past tense by an interior change, by ablaut, and the latter by an exterior change, by the addition of a syllable, OHG. *ta*, NHG. *te*. There were originally two classes of strong verbs, the reduplicated [1] and non-reduplicated verbs. Of the reduplicated, descendants are left in OHG., but show no sign of reduplication (see § 53), with the exception of *tëta*, first and third singular preterite indicative of *tuon*, to do (see § 60). The non-reduplicated verbs are divided for OHG. into the six ablaut series already quoted (see § 33). As with the nouns, so with the verbs, many interchanges will have to be noticed, both within individual verbs and between series. For phonetical reasons there is a constant tendency to change even amongst different persons of the same tense, counteracted to some degree by analogy which tends to level out and make similar again.

§ 51. Before passing on to the various classes of strong verbs it will be as well to note the more important parts of such a verb. The two examples of *nëman* and *tragan* will give us instances in the present tense of Brechung in the one case and umlaut in the other.

[1] That is, verbs which formed tenses by repeating the initial consonantal sound with the aid of an *e*, e.g. Gk. *τρέφω, τέτροφα*, Lat. *pello, pepuli*, or Goth. *haldan, haíhald*.

Present Indicative[1]

	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*nimu*	*nime*	*tragu*	*trage*
	nimis	*nimest*	*tragis* (*tregis*)	*tregest*
	nimit	*nimet*	*tragit* (*tregit*)	*treget*
Plur.	*nëmamēs*	*nëmen*	*tragamēs*	*tragen*
	nëmet	*nëmet*	*traget*	*traget*
	nëmant	*nëment*	*tragant*	*tragent*

Preterite Indicative[1]

	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG
Sing.	*nam*	*nam*	*truog*	*truoc*
	nāmi	*næme*	*truogi*	*trüege*
	nam	*nam*	*truog*	*truoc*
Plur.	*nāmum*	*nāmen*	*truogum*	*truogen*
	nāmut	*nāmet*	*truogut*	*truoget*
	nāmun	*nāmen*	*truogun*	*truogen*

The second singular ending *st* in the modern verbs as in *nimmst*, *nahmst*, is probably due to the enclitic use of *du*: OHG. *nimis du?* became *nimistu?* influenced as well no doubt by analogy with the preterite-present forms *muost*, *scalt*, *weist*, etc. The *st* was then transferred to other tenses, e.g. *næme* > *næmest* > *nāmest* (with the *ā* from the plural). The *h* of the modern verb is only the modern introduction of *h* as a sign

[1] The Optative (Subjunctive) is here appended without discussion:

Present Subjunctive

	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*nëme*	*nëme*	*trage*	*trage*
	nëmēs	*nëmest*	*tragēs*	*tragest*
	nëme	*nëme*	*trage*	*trage*
Plur.	*nëmēm*	*nëmen*	*tragēm*	*tragen*
	nëmēt	*nëmet*	*tragēt*	*traget*
	nëmēn	*nëmen*	*tragēn*	*tragen*

Preterite Subjunctive

	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*nāmi*	*næme*	*truogi*	*trüege*
	nāmīs	*næmest*	*truogīs*	*trüegest*
	nāmi	*næme*	*truogi*	*trüege*
Plur.	*nāmīm*	*næmen*	*truogīm*	*trüegen*
	nāmīt	*næmet*	*truogīt*	*trüeget*
	nāmīn	*næmen*	*truogīn*	*trüegen*

of a long vowel (see § 22); likewise the *mm* in *nimmst*, *nimmt*, is only the modern sign for the short vowel (see § 28 I*a*). For the *e* in NHG. in the first person singular of the present indicative, *ich nehme*, as contrasted with the second and third singular, *nimmst*, *nimmt*, which have retained the *i*, see next paragraph.

§ 52. A comparison of the forms in OHG., MHG., and NHG. reveals at a glance the most striking changes and levellings out which have taken place:

Class 1.	OHG.	*ī*	*ei* (*ē*)	*i*	*i*
	OHG.	*scrīban*	*screib*	*scribum*	*giscriban*
	MHG.	*schrīben*	*schreip*	*schriben*	*geschriben*
	NHG.	*schreiben*	*schrieb*	*schrieben*	*geschrieben*

Note the levelling out of the vowel of the preterite plural into the singular. Verbs originally weak, but now belonging to this series are: *preisen*, *weisen*. Verbs now weak, but originally belonging to this series are: *neigen*, *neiden*, *reihen*.

OHG.	*dīhan*	*dēh*	*digum*	*gidigan*
MHG.	*dīhen*	*dēch*	*digen*	*gedigen*[1]
NHG.	*gedeihen*	*gedieh*	*gediehen*	*gediehen*

Likewise *zeihen*, *leihen*. Here the preterite and past participle have been newly formed after the analogy of verbs like *schreiben*.

OHG.	*strītan*	*streit*	*stritum*	*gistritan*
MHG.	*strīten*	*streit*	*striten*	*gestriten*
NHG.	*streiten*	*stritt*	*stritten*	*gestritten*.

Class 2.	OHG.	*io*	*ou* (*ō*)	*u*	*o*
	OHG.	*fliogan*	*floug*	*flugum*	*giflogan*
	MHG.	*fliegen*	*flouc*	*flugen*	*geflogen*
	NHG.	*fliegen*	*flog*	*flogen*	*geflogen*

Likewise *biegen*, *kriechen*, *riechen*, *schieben*, etc. The present tense was in MHG., derived from OHG., *fliuge*, *fliugest*, *fliuget*, *fliegen*, *flieget*, *fliegen*. (Germanic *eu* > OHG. *iu* when followed in the next syllable by an *i*, *j*, or *u*; so here first person *iu* is caused by the following *u* and the second and third person by the following

[1] Note the old past participle form in the adjective *gediegen*.

i. Gmc. *eu* > *eo* > *io* > *ie* in all other cases, see § 26.) The normal development of this singular is to be met with in early NHG. and frequently in later poetry *fleugst*, *fleugt*, *leugst*, *leugt* (from MHG. infinitive *liegen* > NHG. *lügen*, formed after the noun *Lüge*; cf. *trügen* (*betrügen*) < *triegen*). Modern German levels out from the plural.

OHG.	*biotan*	*bōt*	*butum*	*gibotan*
MHG.	*bieten*	*bōt*	*buten*	*geboten*
NHG.	*bieten*	*bot*	*boten*	*geboten*

As above, so with *bieten* in the present singular: cf. the poetical forms *beut*, *gebeut*. Like *bieten*: *ziehen* and *fliehen* with their change of consonant in the past (see § 18); and with a short *o* in the past *fließen*, *gießen*, etc.

Class 3.	OHG.	*i* (*ë*)	*a*	*u*	*u* (*o*)
	OHG.	*bintan*	*bant*	*buntum*	*gibuntan*
	MHG.	*binden*	*bant*	*bunden*	*gebunden*
	NHG.	*binden*	*band*	*banden*	*gebunden*
	OHG.	*hëlfan*	*half*	*hulfum*	*giholfan*
	MHG.	*hëlfen*	*half*	*hulfen*	*geholfen*
	NHG.	*helfen*	*half*	*halfen*	*geholfen*

The present singular, as we should expect, was in OHG. *hilfu*, *hilfis*, *hilfit*, the *i* coming from the *ë* owing to the following *u* of the first person and the following *i* of the second and third (see § 26 and § 25. 2). Modern German has inserted only in the first person the *e* from the plural. Like *binden*: *dringen*, *gelingen*, *schwingen*, *sinken*, *trinken*, *zwingen*, etc. Like *helfen*: *bergen*, *gelten*, *sterben*, *werden*,[1] *werfen*, etc.

Class 4.	OHG.	*ë*	*a*	*ā*	*o*
	OHG.	*nëman*	*nam*	*nāmum*	*ginoman*
	MHG.	*nëmen*	*nam*	*nāmen*	*genomen*
	NHG.	*nehmen*	*nahm*	*nahmen*	*genommen*

Likewise *gebären*, *stehlen*, etc. NHG. *nehme*, *nimmst*, *nimmt* < OHG. *nimu*, *nimis*, *nimit*, exactly as discussed in regard to *helfen*.

[1] OHG. *wërdan*; *ward*, *wurtum*; *wortan*. *d*-*t* Verner's Law. The *d* is now used in the plural and *ge* in the past participle (see § 54). *Ward* still occurs; the standard *wurde* has adopted in the first and third singular the weak personal ending.

To this series belonged in its original form *kommen* : OHG. *quëman* (present singular *quimu*), *quam*, *quāmum*, *quoman* ; *quë*, *qui* > *ko*, *ku* and the *k* was then transferred to the other parts of the verb.

Class 5.	OHG.	*ë*	*a*	*ā*	*ē*
	OHG.	*gëban*	*gab*	*gābum*	*gigëban*
	MHG.	*gëben*	*gap*	*gāben*	*gegëben*
	NHG.	*geben*	*gab*	*gaben*	*gegeben*

NHG. *gebe*, *gibst*, *gibt* < OHG. *gibu*, *gibis*, *gibit*, just as above with *helfen*. Like *geben* : *treten*, *sehen*, *lesen*, etc. ; here, too, belongs OHG. *wësan* (to be), *was*, *wārum*, *giwësan*, but not with its present tense (see § 60).

Class 6.	OHG.	*a*	*uo*	*uo*	*a*
	OHG.	*tragan*	*truog*	*truogum*	*gitragan*
	MHG.	*tragen*	*truoc*	*truogen*	*getragen*
	NHG.	*tragen*	*trug*	*trugen*	*getragen*

NHG. *trage*, *trägst*, *trägt* < OHG. *tragu*, *tragis*, *tragit*. Likewise *fahren*, *graben*, *schlagen*, etc. To this class also belonged NHG. *heben*, *hob*, *gehoben*, but MHG. *heben*, *huop*, *huoben*, *gehaben*,[1] OHG. *heffen*,[2] *huob*, *huobum*, *gihaban*.

§ 53. The following verbs are descendants of original reduplicating verbs ; they have all *ie* in the preterite stem [3] but various vowels in the present with which, however, the past participle vowel always agrees :

(a)	*haltan*	*hialt*	*gihaltan*

on similar lines, *fallan*, *fāhan*,[3] *hāhan*,[3] *gangan* (see § 60).

(b)	*rātan*	*riat*	*girātan*

on similar lines, *slāfan*, *blāsan*, *lāzan*, *brātan*.

(c)	*heizan*	*hiaz*	*giheizan*
(d)	*ruofan*	*riof*	*giruofan*
(e)	*loufan*	*liof*	*giloufan*

on similar lines, *houwan*.

(f)	*stōzan*	*stioz*	*gistōzan*

§ 54. The past participial prefix *ge* arises from the use,

[1] Note the old past participial form in *erhaben*.
[2] Verner's Law : *f-b*. MHG. standardizes the *b*.
[3] Shortened, however, in the three cases of *fangen*, *hangen* and *gehen* to *ï* : MHG. *vienc* (*fieng*), *hienc*, *gienc* > NHG. *fing*, *hing*, *ging*.

in the first instance, of *ge* as a prefix to certain imperfective verbs to denote the idea of completion (a few such pairs are still seen in NHG. though not with the old significance: *bieten, gebieten, brauchen, gebrauchen*). The *ge*, then, occurring so often in the past indefinite tense came to be associated with the idea of completion denoted in the past participle. In OHG. still, perfective verbs like *bringan, findan, quëman, wërdan*, etc., did not have the prefix (*gi* in OHG.) in the past participle. In NHG. even, we see no *ge* used with verbs already possessing one prefix, viz. the inseparable verbs, and in the case of *worden*.

§ 55. The weak verbs. In OHG. we have to distinguish between three classes of weak verbs according to the ending of the stem:

1. *ō* stems (cf. Lat. *amāre*), e.g. *salbōn*.
2. *ē* stems (cf. Lat. *habēre, monēre*), e.g. *fragēn*.
3. *ī* stems (cf. Lat. *audīre*), e.g. *leggen* (<older **legjan*), *lēren* (<older **lērian*).

The present tense of *salbōn* and *fragēn* retained in OHG. the long vowel *ō* and *ē* respectively; with *legjan* and *lērian* the endings were as with the strong verbs already quoted, thus:

Present Indicative OHG.

Sing.	*salbōm*	*fragēm*	*leggu*	*lēru*
	salbōs	*fragēs*	*legis*	*lēris*
	salbōt	*fragēt*	*legit*	*lērit*
Plur.	*salbōmēs*	*fragēmēs*	*leggemēs*	*lēremēs*
	salbōt	*fragēt*	*legget*	*lēret*
	salbōnt	*fragēnt*	*leggent*	*lērent*

In MHG. the first person consonantal endings, where existent, have dropped, and all the final vowels have weakened to *e* so that the MHG. endings appear very similar to NHG.

The greatest distinction to be noticed is in the formation of the preterite tenses which by NHG. have become identical. The preterite in OHG. was:

salbōta *fragēta* *legita* *lērta*

These became in MHG:

salbete *fragete* *legete* *lērte*

and by NHG. that middle unaccented *e* has been everywhere totally syncopated, except in those cases where it has been retained to distinguish between the present and past indicative tenses of verbs whose stems ended in a dental sound, e.g. *bildete, redete* (instead of *bildte, redte*).

§ 56. Note the *j* stem verbs whose stem vowel was affected by the *j* of the ending. In NHG. there still remain of this type *brennen,*[1] *kennen, nennen, senden, wenden, rennen.*

OHG.	**brannjan*	*brannta*
MHG.	*brennen*	*brannta*
NHG.	*brennen*	*brannte*

OHG. *branta* was, of course, as a *j* stem earlier **brannita* but the *i* disappeared here (see § 29) quite regularly before the umlaut effect began to operate. In MHG. the number of verbs of this type was considerably larger than in NHG. where analogy has levelled them out: MHG. inf. *hœren, büezen, lœsen, setzen, decken,* with preterite MHG. *hôrte, buozte, lôste, sazte, dacte,* but NHG. *hörte, büßte, löste, setzte, deckte.*

§ 57. The weak preterite, as already noted (see § 5. 5), is a special Germanic formation; its origin is, however, not definitely settled. In all probability it has something to do with the Idg. root *dhē* (Gk. *θη* in *τίθημι*) which is in ablaut relation with OE. *dōn,* to do; a formation, that is, that might be compared with E. *I did see,* though the German is suffixal (see § 60: *to do*).

§ 58. In OHG. *habēn* was a weak verb conjugated like *fragēn.* In late OHG. a contracted form arose, *hān,* and this in MHG. was used as an auxiliary in distinction to *haben* as a principal verb. We see forms from the contracted verb in NHG. *hăst, hăt* (<MHG. *hâst, hât*), whereas the forms with the short vowel in MHG. *hăbe, hăben,* become NHG. *hābe, hāben* (see § 28). From *hān* comes also a new preterite *hāte,* NHG. *hatte*; note *hätte* as one of the few examples in NHG. of a weak verb imperf. subj. with umlaut: MHG. *haete.*

§ 59. The preterite-presents. Verbs like Gk. *οἶδα* and

[1] Sometimes referred to as Rückumlaut verbs, since, on the surface, it appears as if the umlaut, having once existed, has been lost again; but this, of course, is not the case; the *a* is the original vowel, not the *e*. Cf. *schon* and *fast* beside *schön* and *fest* (see under adverbs, § 69).

Lat. *coepi* which, originally unreduplicated perfects, had come to have a present meaning.[1] In primitive Germanic a new weak preterite and a new infinitive were formed from the plural stem. Such verbs are *wissen* (an original Class I verb), *können* (original Class III), *dürfen* (original Class III), *sollen* (original Class III), *mögen* (original Class VI), *müssen* (original Class VI).

OHG. *wizzan*; *weiz, weist, weiz, wizzum*, etc.; *wissa.*
MHG. *wizzen*; *weiz, weist, weiz, wizzen*, etc.; *wisse* (*wiste, wuste*).[2]

OHG. *kunnan*; *kan, kanst, kan, kunnum*, etc.; *konda.*
MHG. *kunnen*; *kan, kanst, kan, kunnen*, etc.; *kunde* (*konde*).

OHG. *durfan*; *darf, darft, darf, durfum*, etc.; *dorfta.*
MHG. *durfen*; *darf, darft, darf, durfen*, etc.; *dorfte.*

OHG. *scolan*; *scal, scalt, scal, sculum*, etc.; *scolta.*
MHG. *suln*; *sol, solt, sol, suln*, etc.; *solte.*

Forms without *c* occur already in OHG.: *sal, solta.*

OHG. *magan*; *may, maht, mag, magum*, etc.; *mahta.*
MHG. *mugen*; *mac, maht, mac, magen*, etc.; *mahte.*

Beside *magum* (first pl. pres.) *mugum* after the analogy of *sculum*, and with influence on the inf., *mugan* beside *magan*, whence the MHG. *mugen.*

OHG. *muozan*; *muoz, muost, muoz, muozum*, etc.; *muosa.*
MHG. *müezen*; *muoz, muost, muoz, müezen*, etc.; *muose* (*muoste* by analogy with the other preterites).

The NHG. second singulars *darfst, sollst, magst*, after the analogy of the other second singulars. The infinitives *kunnen, durfen, mugen, muezen* > *künnen, dürfen, mügen, müezen*, probably after the analogy of the subjunctive and then *künnen, mügen* > *können, mögen* as § 28 (*b*).

§ 60. The few traces of the *mi* verbs to be found in OHG. are in the verbs *to be, to do, to go*, and *to stand.* They are distinguished by an *m* in the first person singular of the present indicative: *bim, tuom, gēm, stēm.*

The original form of the infinitive *to be* was in OHG. *wësan* (with the new form *sīn* from the subjunctive form as well), MHG. *wësen* (*sīn*). Three distinct roots occur: (*a*) *wes*

[1] Cf. Eng. argot "I *got* one," meaning merely "I have one."
[2] *Wuste*, and also *woste*, both through the influence of the *w.*

in the preterite; (*b*) **bheu-* in *bin*, *bist* is the same root as in Lat. *fui*, etc.; (*c*) *es* in *ist* and its shorter form *s* in *sind*, *sei* as in Lat. *est* and *sunt*, *sim*.

	Present Indicative.[1]		Preterite Indicative.[1]	
	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*bim*	*bin*	*was*	*was*
	bis	*bist*	*wāri*	*wære*
	ist	*ist*	*was*	*was*
Plur.	*birum*	*birn* (*sīn*)	*wārum*	*wāren*
	birut	*birt* (*sīt*)	*wārut*	*wāret*
	sint	*sint*	*wārun*	*wāren*

The third plural present NHG. *sind* is the only NHG. verb preserving the *t* of the old third plural termination: see the paradigms of the verbs above in OHG. and MHG.; cf. Lat. *sunt*, *amant*, etc. By analogy this *t* has even been transferred to the first plural.

To do: OHG. *tuon*:

	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*tuom*	*tuon*	*tëta*	*tëte*
	tuos	*tuost*	*tāti*	*tæte*
	tuot	*tuot*	*tëta*	*tëte*
Plur.	*tuomēs*	*tuon*	*tātum*	*tāten*
	tuot	*tuot*	*tātut*	*tātet*
	tuont	*tuont*	*tātun*	*tāten*

Note the reduplication in the first and third singular of the preterite; the modern singular after analogy with the plural. This reduplicated form is to be seen in the poetical *tät*: "das ich zum Kränzchen pflanzen tät," etc. Cf. *I did plant.*

To go and *to stand.* Besides *gangan* and *stantan*[2] there

[1]

	Present Subjunctive.		Preterite Subjunctive.	
	OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
Sing.	*sī*	*sī*	*wāri*	*wære*
	sīs	*sīst*	*wārīs*	*wærest*
	sī	*sī*	*wāri*	*wære*
Plur.	*sīm*	*sīn*	*wārīm*	*wæren*
	sīt	*sīt*	*wārīt*	*wæret*
	sīn	*sīn*	*wārīn*	*wæren*

[2] Originally a Class VI verb: *stuont*, *stuontum*; *gistantan*, MHG. *stuont*, *stuonten*; *gestanden*. The *n* belonged originally to the present only, as in English *stand*, *stood*. (OHG. has also, but rarely, *stuot*, *stuotum*.) Early in NHG. *stund*, *stunden* > *stand*, *stunden* (after the analogy of *band*, *bunden*) > *stand*, *standen*.

existed in OHG. short present forms *gān*, *stān* (Alemannic), *gēn*, *stēn* (Bavarian). These latter give the NHG. *gehen* and *stehen* and the present tense.

PRESENT INDICATIVE

OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
gēm	*gēn*	*stēm*	*stēn*
gēs	*gēst*	*stēs*	*stēst*
gēt	*gēt*	*stēt*	*stēt*
gēmēs	*gēn*	*stēmēs*	*stēn*
gēt	*gēt*	*stēt*	*stēt*
gēnt	*gēnt*	*stēnt*	*stēnt*

Wollen. The present tense of *wollen* was originally an optative form of a *mi* verb, which came to be used indicatively ; cf. for the second and third singular Lat. *velis*, *velit*. The infinitive in OHG. is *wellen* (*e* becoming *o* from the influence of the *w* and by analogy with the *o* of the preterite).

PRESENT INDICATIVE.		PRETERITE INDICATIVE.	
OHG.	MHG.	OHG.	MHG.
willu	*wil*	*wolta*, etc.	*wolte*, etc.
wili	*wilt*		
wili	*wil*		
wellemēs	*wellen*		
wellet	*wellet*		
wellent	*wellen*		

MHG. *wilt*, NHG. *willst* by analogy with the *st* of the preterite presents.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADJECTIVE. THE PRONOUN. THE ADVERB.

§ 61. **Adjectives** were declined in Indo-Germanic with the same endings as the nouns, as in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The so-called uninflected form of adjectives in the Germanic languages is a remnant of this: predicatively always, and attributively surviving only in poetic usage, e.g. *Röslein rot*, *Jung Siegfried*.

The Strong Declension.—Even in Indo-Germanic the pronominal adjectives had partly nominal and partly pronominal endings as in Sanskrit. In primitive Germanic the endings of the pronominal adjectives (as Lat. *tōtius*, *tōtī*, *alius*, *aliī* after *eius*, *eī*) were extended to all adjectives. Then, later, but still in prehistoric HG., some of the case endings were influenced by those of the simple demonstrative pronoun *der*.

The Weak Declension.—Particularly a Germanic adoption (see § 5. 4) of the suffix *-n* which was originally used to form nomina agentis and attributive nouns. Nouns so formed came to be used attributively and then adjectivally.

Already in primitive Germanic the two kinds of adjectives, strong and weak, became differentiated in use, the strong for a generic, indefinite idea, the weak for an individualizing, definite idea. Their use in the modern language is a question of syntax.

§ 62. The strong declension of the adjective is as follows:

OHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*blint, blinder*	*blint, blintiu*	*blint, blintaz*
Gen.	*blintes*	*blintera*	*blintes*
Dat.	*blintemu*	*blinteru*	*blintemu*
Acc.	*blintan*	*blinta*	*blint, blintaz*
Plur.			
Nom.	*blinte*	*blinto*	*blintiu*
Gen.	*blintero*	*blintero*	*blintero*
Dat.	*blintēm*	*blintēm*	*blintēm*
Acc.	*blinte*	*blinto*	*blintiu*

MHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*blint, blinder*	*blindiu, blint*	*blindez, blint*
Gen.	*blindes*	*blinder*	*blindes*
Dat.	*blindem*	*blinder*	*blindem*
Acc.	*blinden*	*blinde*	*blint, blindez*
Plur.			
Nom.	*blinde*	*blinde*	*blindiu*
Gen.	*blinder*	*blinder*	*blinder*
Dat.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Acc.	*blinde*	*blinde*	*blindiu*

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, in the masculine and neuter gen. sing., the weak form *en* has been common and is now standard. The acc. fem. sing. has come to be used as fem. nom. as well; *blindiu* would have become NHG. **blinden*. The neut. nom. and acc. pl. would likewise have given NHG. **blinden* but *blinde* is the form after the masc. and fem. pl.

§ 63. And the weak declension:

OHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*blinto*	*blinta*	*blinta*
Gen.	*blinten*	*blintūn*	*blinten*
Dat.	*blinten*	*blintūn*	*blinten*
Acc.	*blinton*	*blintūn*	*blinta*

Plur.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*blinton*	*blintūn*	*blintun*
Gen.	*blintōno*	*blintōno*	*blintōno*
Dat.	*blintōm*	*blintōm*	*blintōm*
Acc.	*blinton*	*blintūn*	*blintun*

MHG.

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*blinde*	*blinde*	*blinde*
Gen.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Dat.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Acc.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinde*
Plur.			
Nom.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Gen.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Dat.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*
Acc.	*blinden*	*blinden*	*blinden*

That is to say, the weak adjective is inflected like the weak nouns of the three genders in OHG. and MHG., the one alteration in NHG. being the fem. acc. sing. *blinde* (following the nom. form), MHG. *blinden* corresponding exactly with the fem. noun acc. sing. in MHG., e.g. *zungen*, OHG. *zungūn*.

§ 64. **The Numerals.**—One to six in the Indo-Germanic languages have already been noticed (see section 2 and note 1, p. 33). For our present purposes the mere list of the cardinals will suffice to show us the change from OHG. :

OHG.	MHG.
ein	*ein*
zwēne, zwō, zwei	*zwēne, zwō, zwei*
drī	*drī*
feor, fior	*vier*
fimf, finf	*finf, fünf*
sëhs	*sëhs*
sibun	*siben*
ahto	*ahte*
niun	*niun*
zëhan	*zëhen*
einlif	*einlif, eil(i)f*
zwelif	*zwelf*
drīzëhan	*drīzëhen*

OHG.	MHG.
fiorzëhan	*vierzëhen*
finfzëhan	*finf-, fünfzëhen*
sëh(s)zëhan	*sëh(s)zëhen*
**sibunzëhan*	*sibenzëhen*
ahtozëhan	*ah(t)zëhen*
niunzëhan	*niunzëhen*
zweinzug	*zweinzic*
drīzug	*drīzic*
fiorzug	*vierzic*
finfzug	*finf-, fünfzic*
sëh(s)zug	*sëh(s)zic*
sibunzug	*sibenzic*
ahtozug	*ah(t)zic*
niunzug	*niunzic*
zëhanzug, hunt	*zëhenzic, hundert*
zwei hunt	*zwei hunt, hundert*
dūsunt	*tūsent*
zwā dūsuntā	*zwei tūsent*

One to three, as in the other Germanic languages, were in OHG. declinable in all cases and genders, remnants of which we see in NHG. *zweier, dreier, zweien, dreien*, the gen. and dat. respectively.

§ 65. **The Pronoun.**—"Most of the pronouns, especially the personal and demonstrative, must have had accented and unaccented forms existing side by side in the parent language itself; and one or other of the forms became generalized already in the prehistoric period of the individual branches of the parent language. And then at a later period, but still in prehistoric times, there arose new accented and unaccented forms side by side in the individual branches, as e.g. in primitive Germanic *ek, mek* beside *ik, mik*. The separate Germanic languages generalized one or other of these forms before the beginning of the oldest literary monuments and then new accented beside unaccented forms came into existence again. And similarly during the historic periods of the different languages."[1]

§ 66. The personal pronouns were declined as follows:

[1] Wright, *Historical German Grammar*, pp. 211-12.

First person:

Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*ih*	*ich*
Gen.	*mīn*	*mīn*
Dat.	*mir*	*mir*
Acc.	*mih*	*mich*
Plur.		
Nom.	*wir*	*wir*
Gen.	*unsēr*	*unser*
Dat.	*uns*	*uns*
Acc.	*unsih*	*unsich, uns*

Second person:

Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*dū, du*	*dū, du*
Gen.	*dīn*	*dīn*
Dat.	*dir*	*dir*
Acc.	*dih*	*dich*
Plur.		
Nom.	*ir*	*ir*
Gen.	*iuwēr*	*iuwer*
Dat.	*iu*	*iu*
Acc.	*iuwih*	*iuch*

The NHG. genitive forms *mein, dein* have taken the additional ending *er* after the analogy of *unser, euer*; the older forms are found in poetry and isolated expressions, e.g. *Vergiß mein nicht.* In the plural *iuch* the acc. form has quite ousted the dat. *iu*, NHG. dat. *euch*, acc. *euch.*

Third person:

Masc. Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*ir, ër*	*ër*
Gen.	*sīn*	*sīn, ës*
Dat.	*imu*	*im*
Acc.	*inan, in*	*in*
Plur.		
Nom.	*sie*	*sie*
Gen.	*iro* [1]	*ir*
Dat.	*im, in*	*in*
Acc.	*sie*	*sie*

[1] Still preserved in court and official language: *Ihro Majestät, Ihro Gnaden.*

Fem. Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*siu, sī, si*	*sie*
Gen.	*ira, iru*	*ir*
Dat.	*iru*	*ir*
Acc.	*sia, sie*	*sie*
Plur.		
Nom.	*sio*	*sie*
Gen.	*iro* [1]	*ir*
Dat.	*im*	*in*
Acc.	*sio*	*sie*

Neut. Sing.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom.	*iz*	*ëz*
Gen.	*is, ës*	*ës (sīn)*
Dat.	*imu*	*im*
Acc.	*iz*	*ëz*
Plur.		
Nom.	*siu*	*siu, sie*
Gen.	*iro*	*ir*
Dat.	*im*	*in*
Acc.	*siu*	*siu, sie*

In the gen. sing. masc. the genitive of the reflexive pronoun *sīn* was early adopted and this in its turn gave way to the longer form *seiner* after the analogy of *meiner, deiner*. The same thing occurred, but later, with the neut. gen. sing.; *ës* in MHG. was occasionally transferred to the masculine. Traces of the neut. gen. *ës* are to be seen in such phrases as *ich bin es satt, ich bin es zufrieden*. Compare *ir* and *in* becoming *ihrer, ihnen*, after the analogy of the strong adjectives.

§ 67. The Demonstrative Pronoun, the Definite Article and the Relative. The demonstrative *dër* was declined as follows in OHG.:

Sing.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*dër*	*diu*	*daz*
Gen.	*dës*	*dëra*	*dës*
Dat.	*dëmu*	*dëru*	*dëmu*
Acc.	*dën*	*dia*	*daz*

[1] See note, p. 74.

Plur.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*dē, dia, die*	*dio*	*diu*
Gen.	*dëro* [1]	*dëro*	*dëro*
Dat.	*dēm*	*dēm*	*dēm*
Acc.	*dē, dia, die*	*dio*	*diu*

This paradigm evolves strictly into that of NHG. excepting *diu*, which should become **deu*; *die* has been substituted by analogy, just as in the similar cases (fem. acc. sing. and neut. nom. and acc. plur.) of the strong adjective (see § 62). The genitive has developed since the fifteenth century the longer forms *dessen, deren, dessen*; *derer, deren, denen* with adjectival endings, though these longer formations are not common even by Luther's time and the shorter ones are often found in poetry.[2] For NHG. the longer forms are the distinguishing feature, apart from accentuation, between the demonstrative pronoun and the definite article. The definite article is indeed nothing more than the unaccented form of the demonstrative, and as such retains the short forms in the genitive. The relative pronoun is identical in form with the demonstrative; its development, like that of the definite article, is a matter of syntax (see § 72).

§ 68. Originally the reflexive referred to the chief person of the sentence, usually the subject, whether it was the first, second or third person, singular or plural. In Germanic the personal pronouns of the first and second person came to be used reflexively, so that the original reflexive was restricted to the third person:

Sing.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Gen.	*sīn*(m), *ira*(f)	*sīn, ir*	*sein, seiner; ihrer*
Dat.	*imu*(m), *iru*(f)	*im, ir*	*sich*
Acc.	*sih*	*sich*	*sich*
Plur.			
Gen.	*iro*	*ir*	*ihrer*
Dat.	*im*	*in*	*sich*
Acc.	*sih*	*sich*	*sich*

NHG. has adopted *sich* for dative as well as accusative; but

[1] Also preserved in legal and official language.

[2] E.g. *Des freuet sich der Engel Schar* (Luther). *Des rühme der blut'ge Tyrann sich nicht* (Schiller).

remnants of the older conditions are still frequently to be met with in Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller.[1]

§ 69. **The Adverb.**—Adverbs were formed from adjectives in OHG. by adding *o* to the root of the adjective when it ended in a consonant: e.g. *reht*, *rehto*. This *o* was originally an ablative ending (see under syntax, § 72). When the adjective ended in *i*, as the *o* was added to the root of the adjective, we have adverbs with a non-umlauted root vowel corresponding to adjectives in which umlaut was caused by the *i*: e.g. the adverbs *fasto*, *scōno* (NHG. *fast*, *schon*), besides the adjectives *festi*, *scōni* (NHG. *fest*, *schön*). In MHG. both final *o* (adverbs) and final *i* (adjectives) were weakened to *e*, so that when the adjective ended in a consonant, the only difference between the adverb and the adjective was the final *e* in the former: *rehte* beside *reht*. When the adjective ended in *e*, there was no difference between adverb and adjective, except in those cases in which the adverbial form was non-umlauted and the adjectival form was umlauted from OHG. as above. In NHG. the distinction in form between adverb and adjective has disappeared. The uninflected form of the adjective is now used as an adverb with the exception of *lange*. *Fest* and *schön* have been differentiated in meaning from the corresponding adverbs *fast* and *schon*.

[1] E.g. *Wer sich Knall und Fall ihm selbst zu leben nicht entschließen kann, der lebet andrer Sklav' auf immer* (Lessing).

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

§ 70. Many grammars cease at the point we have now reached, viz. after treating phonology and inflexional forms; but as the formation of words and the evolution of the syntax of the sentence are as essentially a part of historical grammar as the history of the evolution of the sounds and the accidence, a reference, of necessity very short, will be made to them as a conclusion.

Word Formation.—New words may be made by means of suffixes or of prefixes or by means of both together. We will not mention here, beyond this reference, the question of obscured suffixes and prefixes, as, for instance, in *Freund* and *Feind*, words in which to-day we no longer think of one part being stem and another suffix (but cf. Goth. *frijōnds*, the one loving, and *fijands*, the one hating, from the verbs *frijōn* and *fijan*). We shall also confine ourselves, partly for lack of space in this short course, and partly for the reason that the meaning and strength of these suffixes and prefixes are often treated in the ordinary grammars of the modern language, to a mere list, with an occasional note on one of the more interesting points.

1. (*a*) Noun prefixes: *aber*, *after*, *ant*, *erz* (OHG *erzi*, borrowed, like Eng. *arch*, from Gk. ἀρχι-), *fur*, *ge*, *miß*, *un* (cf. Eng. *un*), *ur* (cf. the unaccented form in the inseparable *er* of verbs).

(*b*) Noun suffixes: *chen*, *e* (either a masculine agent as in *Bote*, *Schenke*, or a feminine abstract as in *Klage*, *Höhe* < OHG. *klagā*, *hōhī*), *ei* (< MHG. *īe*, borrowed from Old French, and

thence the derivatives *erei*, *elei*), *el* (as in *Büttel*, *Krüppel*; cf. cognate Eng. *le*: *beadle*, *cripple*), *er* (<MHG. *ære*<OHG. *ari* <Lat. *arius*; the important masculine agent suffix and thence derived *ler*, *ner*, and cf. also *aner*<Lat. *anus*), *heit* (cf. Eng. *hood*), *icht* (the *t* is a recent addition, see § 22. 8, MHG. *ihe*, *ehe*<OHG. *ahi*, denoting a collective idea: *Dickicht*), *ie* (in learned loan-words: *Philosophie*, etc.), *in*, *ing*, *keit* (a new MHG. suffix arising out of *heit* following adjectives ending in *ig*: *ig* + *heit* > *keit* as OHG. *sālīgheit* > MHG. *sælekeit*; and nowadays there is even the suffix *igkeit* < *ig* + *keit*, as in *Gottlosigkeit*), *lein*, *nis*, *sal*, *schaft*, *t* (and *st* as in *Gift* and *Gunst*), *tum* (cf. Eng. *dom*), *ung* (cf. Eng. *ing* to form abstract nouns from verbs).

2. (*a*) Verb prefixes. These may be either separable or inseparable. Separable: (*a*) formed from adverbs or prepositions: *ab*, *an*, *auf*, *aus*, *bei*, *durch*, *gegen*, *mit*, *nach*, *vor*, *zu*, etc.; (*β*) formed from adjectives: *feil*, *fest*, *hoch*, *kund*, *los*, etc.; (γ) formed from nouns: *preis*, *statt*, *teil*, etc. Inseparable: *be*, *ent* (*emp*), *er*, *ge*, *ver*, *miß*, *voll*.

(*b*) Verb suffixes: *eln*, *ern*, *nen*, *schen*, *sen*, *zen*; *ieren* (borrowed from Old French), *igen* (the verbal ending on to *ig* of adjectives; cf. *keit*), *isieren* (borrowed from Greek, like Eng. *ize*).

3. Adjective suffixes: *bar* (OHG. *bāri*, related to OHG. *bëran*, Eng. *bear*; cf. Lat. *fer* and *fero*), *en* (OHG. *īn*, OHG. *guldīn*, NHG. *gülden*), *ern*, *haft* (= Lat. *captus*; the tendency of its meaning is having, though it is not allied with *haben*, but with *heben*<OHG. *heffen*), *icht*, *ig* (Eng. *y*), *isch* (Eng. *ish*), *lich* (Eng. *ly*), *los* (Eng. *less*), *sam* (Eng. *some*, *awesome*).

4. Adverb suffixes: see under § 72. 6, and note also *s* and *lich* together with *dings*, *lings*, *mals*, *maßen*, *wärts*, *weise*.

§ 71. **Loan-Words.** — Apart from the actual Germanic Wortschatz, really indigenous Germanic words, there have been throughout the whole history of the language words borrowed from other languages; and this borrowing is taking place in prehistoric times, already before the differentiation into the descendants of Germanic. An instance of a Germanic borrowing from neighbouring Celtic is *reich*,

originally mighty, not rich; cf. Lat. *rex* and in Celtic names like Vercingetorix. Borrowing from Latin commences in the general Germanic period with the names of animals and plants: Lat. *pavo*, G. *Pfau*; Lat. *piper*, G. *Pfeffer*; Lat. *planta*, G. *Pflanze*. The borrowings from later Latin are concerned particularly with architecture, horticulture, cooking and food, working instruments, table utensils, and articles of dress. The time of these borrowings can often be approximately settled by the form of the word. In the instances quoted above *p* has become *pf* and *t* has become *z*, so that these must have been importations into German before the second sound-shifting, whereas *Pech* and *Pein* < Lat. *pix* and *poena* must have entered after. The introduction of Christianity, again, brought new words with its new ideas, both from Latin and Greek.

In the middle period there is much borrowing from French, following upon the influence of French literature at this time. Latin comes into prominence again with the Humanists, and French, as we saw (see § 10), was the language of court and fashion in the seventeenth and particularly in the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note how in some loan-words a German word was added by way of explanation: Lat. *mulus* but German *Maulesel*.[1]

§ 72. **Syntax**.—Here, too, we shall have to content ourselves with a mere list of some of the more important problems that arise.

1. The Cases. The origin of the cases is still unknown, though the general tendency of their meaning is more or less settled.[2] Indo-Germanic possessed besides a nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, also a vocative, instrumental, locative, and ablative, all which latter, except a few stray reminiscences, have been lost by OHG. The dative has taken over, for the most part, the functions of these lost cases, the genitive perhaps a small part of the ablative function, whilst the accusative alone has remained more or less true to type. The prepositions have come to be used

[1] The student is referred again to Behaghel-Trechmann, B. chapter v., for a short introduction.

[2] Delbrück in Brugmann and Delbrück, vol. iii. §§ 63-71.

more and more to express the relations originally expressed by a case ending (see below). Finally there are the changes within historical times of the cases used with verbs and prepositions.

2. Noun and Adjective Inflexions. Upon the loss of final consonants and the weakening or loss of final vowels follows an increased similarity of case endings with the increasing use of prepositions. Where originally the case ending of the noun would have expressed its relation in the sentence, a preposition comes to be used and case endings become largely superfluous. As regards the adjective declensions, stereotyped usage, as in NHG., is a comparatively recent introduction.

3. Verb Inflexion. Here again, as with the nouns, an increased similarity of endings with the increasing use of personal pronouns. (Originally, of course, no personal pronoun was used in ordinary expression; the ending of the verbal form showed the person clearly enough.) Of tense-forms Germanic has only two, a present and a perfect (preterite), whereas Indo-Germanic possessed five: a present, an imperfect, an aorist, a perfect, and a future. OHG. uses *sollen* (cf. Eng. *I shall do*) to express the future; only at the end of the MHG. period does the modern use of *werden* appear. There is also the question of mood in the subordinate sentence.

4. The Relative Pronoun. In seeking for an explanation of the origin of the relative pronoun, we must bear mainly in mind the fact that in the older stages of language co-ordination of clauses was the custom, just indeed as it mostly is to-day in ordinary conversation; the subordinate clause is of comparatively recent growth. The sentence, *das ist der Mann, der es tat*, would run originally, *das ist der Mann; der tat es* (that is the man—he, that one, did it). Out of the demonstrative used in this way arose the relative.

5. The Definite Article. The youngest of all the classes of words. *Der Mann* was originally *d e r Mann*, that man, used emphatically and then gradually coming to be used in a non-emphatic, an unaccented manner.

6. The Adverb. Adverbs were originally simply some case form, which then became stereotyped. The most frequent for OHG., *o*, MHG. *e*, has already been discussed. Genitive *s* is not infrequent: MHG. *eines, mittels* > NHG. *einst, mittelst* (excrescent *t* as § 22. 8); in these cases the *s* is grammatically correct, as also in *flugs, stracks*, and we then find it with feminines as *nachts* after analogy with *tags*. There is an old accusative singular in *je* and *nie* from OHG. *io, nio* (connected with OHG. *ēwa*, cf. § 24 and note 1, p. 42); and an old dative plural in *allenthalben* from *allenhalben*.

7. The Preposition. The oldest prepositions were originally adverbs, denoting an idea similar to that expressed by the case ending; in early OHG. *zuo* was still only an adverb. Since MHG. several nouns, more especially *kraft, laut, wegen*, have come to be used as prepositions with the genitive, by force *of*, etc.

8. Subordinate Conjunctions. Here, as we noted with the relative pronoun, one must seek origins, bearing in mind an original co-ordination of clauses. *Daß* arises from the pronoun: *ich weiß das; er kommt* (I know it, that, the fact; he is coming) > *ich weiß, daß er kommt*. Mostly, however, the subordinate conjunctions are derived from adverbs with a reference back; one instance must suffice here: *ich komme nicht, ehe ich es weiß* < *ich komme nicht; ehe* (= *vorher*) *weiß ich es* (I will not come; first I will know).

9. Word Order. The stereotyped order, as in NHG., is comparatively recent. In OHG. the verb of the principal clause often stands at the end, and it is only in MHG. that the so-called dependent clause order becomes the rule.

§ 73. **Semantics.**—The development of a word from one part of speech into the function of another, e.g. the adverbs and prepositions above (§ 72), of an adjective into a noun as *Fürst* from the superlative of *vor* (cf. Eng. *first*), is rightly considered a subject for the history of syntax; but the development and change of the actual meaning of words must be reckoned as an independent branch of philology.[1] This

[1] For its importance in reconstructing the cultural conditions of the original Indo-Germans see Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung, und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, section C *passim*.

science is still in its youth; the term now generally adopted for it is semantics, but semasiology has been used. One or two instances must suffice: Lat. *paganus* (dweller in the country), Eng. *pagan*; Lat. *villanus* (dweller in the *villa*, the farmhouse) > *villein* (in the sense of serf) > *villain* in the modern sense; compare Eng. *knave* and G. *Knabe*; compare Eng. *knight* and G. *Knecht*; compare the use of *Grillen* in the sense of whims, instead of its original meaning of crickets, and parallel that with Eng. to have a *bee* in one's bonnet. "Another word which has had a very interesting history is noon. This is the *nona hora* of the Romans, and ought, therefore, to mean not mid-day, but three o'clock in the afternoon. The cause for the change of meaning was a strange one. It was the custom of the pious in Early England to fast the whole day till three, at least on Wednesdays and Fridays; but though the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak, and, by judiciously quickening the course of time, the holy fathers salved their consciences and enjoyed their meal three hours earlier."[1]

§ 74. The first important name in the history of comparative philology is that of Franz Bopp (1791–1867). As late as the eighteenth century "the etymologies commonly proposed were so rash and so improbable that Swift ironically set up as a philologist with such derivations as ostler from oat stealer, and Voltaire remarked with considerable justice that 'Etymology is a science in which the vowels count for nothing and the consonants for very little'; and Bopp himself, however strongly he may have desired to establish a systematic relation of sound-changes between different languages, often allowed himself to be carried away by plausible derivations which set all laws of sound entirely at nought."[2]

Just as Bopp may be regarded as the father of general Indo-Germanic philology, so may his contemporary, Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), be regarded as the father of Germanic philology. In the second edition of vol. i. of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1822), the treatment in Germanic of the original

[1] Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, § 58.
[2] *Ibid.* §§ 38, 39.

Indo-Germanic voiced and voiceless stops was for the first time clearly formulated; and though no doubt these changes had previously been recognized by the Dane R. K. Rask (1787–1832) and possibly by others even before him, here for the first time was fully and scientifically formulated what will always be known as Grimm's Law.

The outstanding work of the second period—if we divide the time since Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1833) roughly into three—is for Indo-Germanic Schleicher's (1821–68) *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, and as regards Germanic the greatest discovery was that published in 1875 by Karl Verner (1848–96) (Verner's Law—really first discovered by Sievers).

The third period (for Indo-Germanic, Johannes Schmidt, Brugmann, Sievers, and Delbrück, and for Germanic, Sievers, Paul, and Kluge, in their individual works and their co-operation in the *Grundriß der germanischen Philologie*) is marked by the greater recognition of philology as a hard and fast science. (See next paragraph.)

§ 75. Finally, a mention of the most important books. Particularly in the case of works on philology, the student must be sure to obtain the latest edition, so that advantage may be taken of the most recent research or discoveries which will have been included. For this reason the use of the English translations, which exist in several instances, is extremely inadvisable, as the translations are nearly always of the first edition, whereas the German text is probably in its fifth or sixth.

Concurrently with the present book, the student would do well to read Behaghel, *Die deutsche Sprache*, translation into English by Trechmann, as previously quoted, particularly the chapters already referred to; it is a chatty, interesting book, but labours under the defect of no chronological ordering into periods. The Honours student would be well advised to use the German text in the sixth edition, as Trechmann's translation is only from the first; and will then proceed to:

Wright, *Historical German Grammar.*
Schulz, *Abriß der deutschen Grammatik.*
Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik.*

Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch.*
Braune, *Abriß der althochdeutschen Grammatik.*
Naumann, *Althochdeutsches Grammatik.*
Kauffmann, *Deutsche Grammatik.*
Loewe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft.*

Standard Grammars :

Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik.*
Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik.*

For reference :

Paul, *Grundriß der germanischen Philologie.* (The contribution on *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* is by Behaghel, and though there is a wealth of information, here again there is the defect of no periodic arrangement.)

Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch.*
Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.*

For an interesting introduction and general survey : [1]

Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte.*
Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen.*
Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology.*
Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen.*

For reference :

Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.*

For phonetics :

Jespersen, *Elementarbuch der Phonetik.*
Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik.*

(For New High German the English student might well consult Johannson, *Phonetics of the New High German Language.*)

[1] There are, it might be mentioned, quite stimulating articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under Indo-European (by Giles) and German language (by Priebsch) ; useful introductions will be found, too, under such headings as *Scandinavian, Gothic, Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic,* etc.

Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

Publications of the Manchester University Press.

Modern Language Texts—German Series.

GOETHE: **TORQUATO TASSO.** The Text, edited with Introduction and Notes by J. G. ROBERTSON, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature in the University of London. Crown 8vo. Limp duxeen, 4*s.* net; cloth, 5*s.* net.

Issued in Two Parts. Part 1, Text, 2*s.* net. Part 2, Introduction, Notes, Bibliography, 2*s.* net.

HEINE: **BUCH DER LIEDER.** The Text, edited with Introduction and Notes by the late JOHN LEES, M.A., D.Lit., Lecturer in German at the University of Aberdeen. Crown 8vo. Paper, 6*s.* 6*d.* net; cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Issued in Two Parts. Part 1, Text, 3*s.* net. Part 2, Introduction, Notes, Bibliography, etc. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

FRANZ GRILLPARZER: **WEH' DEM DER LÜGT: Lustspiel in Fünf Aufzügen.** Edited by GILBERT WATERHOUSE, Litt.D., Professor of German in the University of Dublin. Crown 8vo. Limp duxeen, 3*s.* 6*d.* net; cloth, 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS,
23 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER.
LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY,
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C. 4.
NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, MADRAS.

Publications of the Manchester University Press.

Manchester University Germanic Series.

No. 1. **VOWEL ALLITERATION IN THE OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES.** By E. CLASSEN, M.A., Ph.D., formerly Lecturer in German and Germanic Philology in the University of Manchester. 8vo. Gilt top. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

No. 2. **AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF NEW HIGH GERMAN.** By ARTHUR KIRK, B.A., formerly Scholar of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Assistant Lecturer in the University of Manchester.

THE MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS,
23 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER.
LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY,
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C. 4.
NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, MADRAS.

C0-CFB-541